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ABSTRACT

This book contains six essays organized under (1) Three Issues of Governance and (2) Three Issues of Curricula. In the first section, Richard A. Rossmiller identifies some of the trends that have led to widespread interest in full State funding, indicates some of the associated problems and issues, describes some ways of achieving full State funding, and examines some advantages and disadvantages; Kenneth H. Hansen points out the new role of leadership and service for State agencies that have rejected the tradition of authoritarian supervision and enforcement; and D. Gene Watson discusses alternatives for educational governance at State levels. In the second section, James F. Collins examines teacher centers and teacher renewal, Richard T. Salzer describes the growing public awareness of the care and education of the young child, and Bill Wesley Brown discusses the need to educate individuals as consumers in an industrial society and prepare them to enter the job market. Each of the six papers is accompanied by a bibliography. (WM)

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SIX CRUCIAL ISSUES in EDUCATION

Essays Designed to Provoke Thought and Discussions among Those Interested in the Problems of Public Education.

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FOREWORD

An increasingly important objective of the National Association of State Boards of Education is to provide means and opportunities for members of state boards of education to study and discuss relevant and timely educational and related social problems of mutual interest. This is essential to strengthen individual board members, thereby better preparing them to discharge official duties in education in our states and territories. To this end, it is vital that state board members have opportunities to hear or read the ideas of expert specialists in current educational public policy as a basis for discussing their concerns, and exchanging information about differing practices with friends and colleagues in other states and territories. This objective is largely met during the area conferences held in the spring of each year; one in each of the four regions into which the 55 NASBE member states and territories are divided: Northeastern, Southern, Central, and Western.

The six topics in this volume were those considered and discussed at each of the 1972 Area Conferences. Obviously, other crucial matters face board members and educators; but all six topics as selected seemed relevant while planning our 1971-72 year. It is important for the reader to know that the services of the six expert specialists and reproducing and forwarding their texts to registrants before presentation at each area conference, as well as preparation, printing and distribution of this book, were made possible by a Title V grant (Public Law 89-10) from the United States Office of Education. After authorization by your board of directors, the undersigned solicited and negotiated the grant based upon NASBE's continued belief, shared by USOE, that adding to the information base of state board members enhances their decision-making ability, thereby resulting in strong boards along with better state departments of education. This book has been printed and distributed to all members and many friends of NASBE so that even those unable to attend the area conference or the annual convention can benefit from this USOE grant.

Note is taken of the immense task very ably performed by our executive secretary, Dr. David T. Tronsgard: we must all be grateful for his steady pressure on the six expert presentors (authors) from the moment of their selection, right through the four area conferences and subsequent editorial processes, which includes getting your president to meet the deadline of this Foreword. The efforts by Dr. Gregory R. Anrig as a coordinator for this volume in preparation for further discussions at the NASBE 1972 Annual Convention next month are greatly appreciated. NASBE is grateful also for the time and effort devoted by the education authorities of Minnesota, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, which states were "participating" parties in the project as well as hosts for the 1972 area conferences; and great personal as well as official gratitude goes to New York for acting as the "administering state" for the project grant. Colorado also helped with financial arrangements. Special mention must be made of Dr. Sidney P. Marland, Jr., U.S. Commissioner of Education, and many members of his staff, in particular Charles B. Saunders, Jr., Wayne O. Reed, James E. Gibbs and Harry L.

Phillips, without whose continuing support and warm interest in NASBE this volume would not have been possible.

The most important purpose of this Foreword is to thank not only the six authors represented in this volume, but also those members of NASBE who attended the 1972 area conferences. Both groups contributed mightily to the lively pace maintained at each gathering. At each conference, the authors presented their essays, not as being final or definitive, but rather as a basis for full discussion from the floor by NASBE members; and the reader must so treat them also. This volume represents a tribute to the liveliness with which the presentations were made and to the equally spirited debate and discussions between NASBE members which ensued on all four occasions. It was a pleasant privilege indeed to listen to the presentations and discussions four times; and on each occasion the NASBE members' participation was lively, intense and extremely interesting. It is in the spirit of accomplishing one of NASBE's prime objectives that I take great pride in presenting this book on behalf of the National Association of State Boards of Education.

Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr.
President
New York, September 1972

INTRODUCTION

Time to think and time to plan. Time away from the crises of today so as to ponder the needs of tomorrow. That is the commodity so scarce for members of state boards of education. But even when the rare moment arises for a state board member to look ahead, the range of complex issues is so great that it is difficult to focus one's thoughts productively.

It was partially for this reason that the National Association of State Boards of Education (NASBE) initiated the preparation of the papers contained in this publication. The papers spotlight six educational issues of importance to state boards of education across the country.

The papers are designed to provoke thought and discussion. This is their second purpose. NASBE members at regional conferences during 1971-1972 have vigorously debated the issues raised in these papers with each other and with the authors. In many ways, the debates have been as valuable and informative as the papers themselves. NASBE, with the support of the U.S. Office of Education, has now published the papers so that the debates can continue not only among NASBE members but among all those interested in education throughout each of our states.

It should be understood that the papers do not represent official positions of the National Association of State Boards of Education. They represent the views of their authors on issues of importance to NASBE members. Their purpose is not to prescribe answers but to promote thinking, raise issues and stimulate discussion.

Towards these ends, the six papers have been organized into two sections. One deals with Issues of Policy and Governance, the other with Issues of Curricula. The former focuses on how education should be governed at the state level. The latter focuses on three needs for improving the educational opportunities of children, needs about which NASBE members will undoubtedly be making decisions in the future. It is the hope of NASBE that its members will find themselves better informed and better prepared as a result of this publication.

Since many readers of this publication will not be members of state boards of education, let me attempt to describe briefly the role of state leadership in education needed for the 1970's as I see it.

I believe a series of events are creating a new opportunity and demand for stronger state leadership in education. Decisions of courts on matters ranging from school finance to district lines, the probability of some national legislation increasing federal funds available to states and freeing state funds committed to welfare, a budding consensus favoring full-state funding of education, the growing complexity of problems facing local officials who feel helpless to cope with them, governors and legislators coming on the scene who are more enlightened about education as a matter of political reality, and an increasing although begrudging recognition that past assumptions about local autonomy and federal infallability have to be critically reexamined – all of these (and others) create a need and an opportunity for improved state leadership in education.

I believe the expanding state role in education includes the following areas of responsibility:

Leadership

* Planning and Development – looking ahead, identifying problems, setting priorities, testing alternative solutions so that available funds can be managed rationally and legislative and administrative initiatives can have an intelligent basis.
* Evaluation – devising ways (and better using those already available) to increase

information for decision-making at all levels and to give some sense of progress, or the lack of it, which can be presented frankly to the public.

* Legislative and Administrative Initiative – rational identification and documentation of educational needs, realistic proposals for legislative and/or administrative remedies, and the mustering of public involvement for devising and supporting these remedies.
* Consultative and Mediation Services – providing to local school districts (and other agencies affecting children) technical assistance which addresses very real local problems and aids in the implementation of state priorities.

Coordination

* In-Service Educational Resources – creating capacities at the local and regional levels for providng, on a continuous basis, the inservice training of school personnel in a manner which involves them in the planning for that training and focuses upon the problems they are confronting.
* Interagency Cooperation – providing high priority effort to coordinating the activities of schools with those of public and private agencies affecting children and families at the local and state levels (including coordination among school districts).
* Regional Service Offices – establishing centers which promote ready access to local, regional and state resources for assistance on local problems and on the implementation of state priorities.

Regulatory

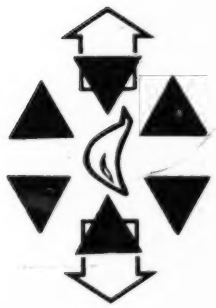
* Legal – seeing that laws and regulations are understood and interpreted, and that channels for judicious review and appeal are available.
* Accounting – fulfilling mandated responsibilities for assuring that local, state and federal funds are expended properly and that mini-requirements are respected.

Perhpas the best summary of how this state role should be carried out, in my opinion, was described by New York Education Commissioner Ewald Nyquist in his eloquent eulogy to the late James E. Allen, Jr. presented at memorial services at Princeton University on December 13, 1971:

In his pursuit of quality and equality of educational opportunity, Allen made a unique contribution through masterful use of six basic tools: (1) the initiation of legislative change, (2) marshalling the power of the people through their voluntary organizations and involving people in the work of the Department, (3) exceptional relations with the press, (4) the exercise of the judicial powers of the Commissioner, (5) the administrative establishment of policies and programs, and (6) using the powers and prestige of the Board of Regents to establish positions on educational issues. In influencing the direction of change, he consistently adhered to the principle that the role of the State Education Department was to provide leadership, meaning trying to be the first to do something new and important, and doing the familiar as well as it could be done.

This, then, is a setting within which one can study the papers which follow. In introducing this publication to the reader, I have attempted to describe the origin and purposes of the papers. For the reader who is less familiar with the state role in education, I have briefly described what I believe to be pressures for strengthening this role, its expanding functions, and how these functions can be effectively performed. It is my hope that this will add to the usefulness of the publication for all those who peruse its pages.

Gregory R. Anrig
University of Massachusetts at Boston



Part 1

THREE ISSUES OF GOVERNANCE

FULL STATE FUNDING OF EDUCATION

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A few years ago the notion of full state funding of public elementary and secondary schools generated some academic arguments but little else. School board members, legislators and administrators certainly gave it little thought. Today, however, the idea of full state funding is being considered seriously in several states and is at least being examined in many others. In this monograph we shall identify some of the converging trends and events which have led to widespread interest in full state funding, indicate some of the problems and issues associated with full state funding, describe some ways in which full state funding might be achieved, and examine some of the advantages and disadvantages of full state funding.

An appropriate question at this point is: "What is full state funding?" Full state funding refers to any arrangement in which the state provides from state revenues all or nearly all of the money needed to finance public elementary and secondary schools. This definition does not rule out "voluntary" local school tax levies, but it does suggest that revenue from local school taxes would comprise only a very small percentage of the total state-local revenues for education. The definition excludes federal funds, although general federal aid or revenues shared with the states could easily be accommodated by treating them as if they were state revenues. Categorical federal aids, however, would probably require separate treatment.

Converging Trends Which Have Created Interest in Full State Funding

Three major trends have, over the past decade, resulted in increasing dissatisfaction with current methods of financing public education. One result has been a search for more satisfactory alternatives, and one possible alternative is full state funding. The three trends are: (1) a rising level of expenditure for public education, both in total dollars and expenditure per pupil; (2) increasing tax friction, particularly noticeable in the resistance to further increases in the property tax; and (3) a growing concern for equity and equality, particularly equality of educational opportunity, which is mirrored in court decisions over the past quarter century.

Growth in Expenditures

Everyone is aware that expenditures for education have increased a great deal over the past ten years. Total expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools totaled $42.4 billion in 1970-71 compared with $15.6 billion in 1959-60; current expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance averaged $341 per pupil in 1959-60 compared with $839 in 1970-71. Among the factors which have contributed prominently to the rising level of expenditure have been enrollment pressures, program expansion, higher salaries and inflation.

Total enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools in the fall of 1960 was 36.3 million pupils and in the fall of 1970 it was 45.9 million pupils, an increase of 26.7 percent. It appears, however, that the enrollment bulge is past, for it is estimated that school enrollment will increase by only about 1 percent between 1970 and 1975. Although much of the enrollment growth between 1960 and 1970 was a direct result of population growth, some of the increase was due to the fact that a higher percentage of young children and young adults were attending school in 1970. For example, 80.7 percent of all 5- and 6-year olds were enrolled in school in 1960 compared with 89.5 percent in 1970, and the enrollment of 18- and 19-year olds increased from 38.4 percent of the population in 1960 to 47.7 percent in 1970.

Extensions of and additions to the educational program were another important factor in the rising school cost picture. The increased percentage of the 5- and 6-year olds at-

tending school reflects the growth of early childhood and kindergarten programs. The development of special educational programs for handicapped children and for the disadvantaged has been given a high priority in recent years and development and extension of vocational and career education programs is a matter of current concern. Not only are more children enrolled in special programs today, but the expenditure per pupil in such programs generally is greater because the class size is usually smaller, the programs are staffed with personnel who require special training, and specialized supplies and equipment are often needed.

The educational enterprise is very labor intensive and salaries have always accounted for a major share of the educational budget. The average salary paid instructional staff members in American schools increased from $5,449 in 1960-61 to $9,689 in 1970-71, an increase of nearly 78 percent. (There are, of course, substantial regional differences in teacher salaries—for example, the average annual salary paid classroom teachers in the Southeast in 1970-71 was $7,835 compared with $10,633 in the Far West.) Despite the substantial increase in teacher salaries over the past ten years, their relative income position has changed little. During 1961-62, when average per capita income in the nation was $2,260 and average instructional staff salaries were $5,700, the ratio of instructional staff salaries to per capita income was 2.518. In 1970-71, average per capita income had increased to $3,910 and average instructional staff salaries had increased to $9,690, giving a ratio of instructional staff salaries to per capita income of 2.478.

The reduction in average class size also has been a factor in the increase in educational spending. In 1965, the pupil-teacher ratio in public elementary and secondary schools was 24.6:1 compared with a ratio of 22.7:1 in 1969.

Although school expenditures appear to have grown rapidly, inflation has greatly reduced the purchasing power of the educational dollar. The Cost of Education Index developed by School Management indicates that if the dollar of 1957-59 is taken as the base, the 1971-72 educational dollar is worth only about 54 cents. In other words, it now costs $185 to buy the equivalent of $100 worth of 1957-59 educational services.

Tax Friction

The daily newspapers provide ample evidence of the increasing reluctance of taxpayers to approve additional school tax levies. Many observers believe this behavior is more indicative of dissatisfaction with the property tax as a means of financing schools than it is of dissatisfaction with the schools themselves. In several states, school districts have been forced to close schools when their funds ran out and no additional tax levy had been voted.

Revenue from local governmental sources, the bulk of which is obtained from property taxes, provides about 52 percent of the revenue for public elementary and secondary schools in the United States. Revenue from state government sources provides approximately 41 percent of the revenue, with funds from federal sources providing about 7 percent. The revenue picture varies considerably from state to state. Revenue from local sources ranged from approximately 3 percent in Hawaii to 86 percent in New Hampshire for the 1970-71 school year. Revenue from state sources also varied widely, ranging from a low of 9.6 percent in New Hampshire to a high of 89.4 percent in Hawaii for the 1970-71 school year. Only 14 states provided more than 50 percent of the revenue for their public schools in 1970-71.

A very large percentage of the revenue from local sources—95 percent or more in most school districts—is obtained from taxes on property, and it is friction generated by the ever increasing demands on the property tax base that is the principal cause of the "Taxpayer rebellion". Many criticisms are leveled at the property tax. It is charged that ownership of property is a poor measure of ability to pay taxes and, insofar as education

is concerned, a poor measure of benefits received. Another criticism of the property tax concerns its administration. It is claimed that property assessment is inaccurate and unfair and that the collection procedure is cumbersome and expensive. A third criticism is that the property tax is largely a tax on housing which is particularly burdensome to the elderly and to low income groups.

These and other problems associated with the property tax have resulted in increasing pressure for reduced reliance on property taxes as a source of revenue for education. Since the property tax is the only major tax that can be used successfully by local units of government, dissatisfaction with the property tax has inevitably generated great pressure for a higher level of state support for education.

The Concern for Equality

A concern for equality of opportunity has long been a part of the American educational heritage. This concern was evident in the movement to establish free schools and to extend free public education to the secondary school level during the nineteenth century and is evident today in the concern for improved education of the handicapped and the disadvantaged. A series of cases culminating in the 1954 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown v Board of Education* in which racially segregated schools were declared unconstitutional illustrate the concern of the courts for equal educational opportunity. A number of cases decided during the 1960's established that children may not be deprived of their right to attend school unless they have been accorded due process of law. The most recent decisions dealing with equality of educational opportunity are, of course, the cases in which courts in California, Minnesota, Texas, and New Jersey have declared that the level of educational spending may be a function only of the wealth of the entire state, not the wealth of the school district in which a pupil happens to reside.

Recent Decisions Concerning School Finance

On August 30, 1971, the California Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Serrano v. Priest* (487 P.2d 1241), a decision which eventually may have the most far reaching consequences of any case ever decided involving the financing of education. The Court was called upon to determine whether California's system of financing public schools, which relies heavily on property taxes levied by local school districts, violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court determined that the California funding scheme "individiously discriminates against the poor because it makes the quality of a child's education a function of the wealth of his parents and neighbors." The court found that California's school financing system, which is similar in many respects to the school financing system employed in most states, violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

A final determination in the Serrano case remains to be made, for the case was remanded to a lower court for trial on the merits. It should be noted that in a modification of opinion" issued on October 21, 1971, the California Supreme Court stated:

> *We deem it appropriate to point out for the benefit of the trial court. . .that if, after further proceedings, that court should enter final judgment determining that the existing system of public school financing is unconstitutional and invalidating said system in whole or in part, it may properly provide for the enforcement of the judgment in such a way as to permit an orderly transition from an unconstitutional to a constitutional system of school financing.*

Thus, the Court recognized the possible chaos and confusion which might result from

abrupt abandonment of the present system and provided for an orderly transition to some other system of financing schools.

In October, 1971, a federal court ruling in the case of *Van Dusartz v. Hatfield* (334 F. Supp. 870) stated, ". . .the principle announced in *Serrano v. Priest* is correct. Plainly put, that rule is that the level of spending for a child's education may not be a function of wealth other than the wealth of the state as a whole."

A third link in the growing chain of decisions was forged on December 23, 1971, when a three-judge federal court ruled that Texas' program for financing public elementary and secondary schools violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. *(Rodriguez v. San Antonio Independent School District,* 337 F.Supp. 280). The Texas school finance program is similar to that found in many states. Revenue from the federal government provides about 10 percent of the revenue for schools and the remaining 90 percent is provided by local property taxes and state aids. The court noted that market value of property per pupil varied widely among the school districts of Texas, and that state aid did not equalize the great disparities in school revenue created by variations among the districts in the amount of property tax base. The court stated:

> *For poor school districts educational financing in Texas is, thus, a tax more, spend less system. The constitutional and statutory framework employed by the state in providing education draws distinctions between groups of citizens depending upon the wealth of the district in which they live.*

It should be noted that the standard established by these courts – the quality of public education may not be a function of wealth other than the wealth of the state as a whole – does not require that educational expenditures be equal for each child, or that the expenditures be made in a certain manner, or in a certain amount. In fact, the Texas court stated, "On the contrary, the state may adopt the financial scheme desired so long as the variations in wealth among the governmentally chosen units do not affect spending for the education of any child."

The defendants in each of the cases urged that the present system grants decision-making power to individual school districts and permits parents to determine how much they wish to spend on their children's schooling. The Texas court rejected this argument, finding that "the state has, in truth and in fact, limited the choice of financing by guaranteeing that some districts will spend low (with high taxes) while others will spend high with low taxes)." The Texas court was in full agreement with the California Supreme Court, which stated:

> *. . .so long as the assessed valuation within a district's boundaries is a major determinant of how much it can spend for its schools, only a district with a large tax base will be truly able to decide how much it really cares about education. The poor district cannot freely choose to spend itself into an excellence which its tax roles cannot provide. Far from being necessary to promote local fiscal choice, the present financing system actually deprives the less wealthy districts of that option.*

Erroneous or incomplete reporting of the decisions in the recent school finance cases has given rise to a great deal of misinformation and misunderstanding concerning these rulings. It should be emphasized that:

1. The property tax has not been ruled unconstitutional.
2. A property tax levy for schools has not been ruled unconstitutional.
3. Equal spending for each school pupil is not required by the decisions.
4. Complete and total funding of public elementary and secondary education from state revenues is not required by the decisions.

What the decisions do require has been stated in a very concise and straight forward manner by the courts: *The level of spending for a child's education may be a function only of the wealth of the school district in which that child happens to reside.*

Problems and Issues in Full State Funding

Interest in full state funding is not solely the result of recent court decisions. In fact, full state funding was advocated by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in 1969 – long before the recent court decisions. A number of problems and issues must be considered in any discussion of full state funding of education.

Program Definition

One of the first questions which must be answered in any consideration of full state funding is "What program is to be funded?" At first glance, the answer seems simple – the full cost of operating the schools. The answer is not that simple, however, for one must find some way of determining the full cost.

One approach is to specify the total amount to be allocated for each pupil, multiply by the number of pupils, and the resulting product is the total amount needed. But how should the amount to be allocated per pupil be determined? Should it be the expenditure per pupil in the highest expenditure district in the state, or the expenditure per pupil. And even when the question is answered, the answer provides no information about the specific programs to be funded.

A second approach which may be used to define the program is to identify the program elements which will be included in the educational program to be funded by the state. If this approach is taken, one must answer such questions as "Are inter-scholastic athletic activities to be supported as part of the state program?", or "Are nursery school programs to be funded?", or "Should educational and/or recreational programs for adults be included in the state-funded program?" Clearly, defining the program to be funded requires that decisions be made on questions where reasonable men may differ.

Level of Support

The question of how the program should be defined leads directly to the issue of whether full state funding should result in a "leveling up" or a "leveling down" of expenditures. Leveling up would raise the state average expenditure by increasing the expenditure per pupil in low expenditure districts to a point where they more nearly approximate the level of spending in district which currently are above the state average. Leveling down, on the other hand, would reduce the level of spending in high expenditure districts and bring them closer to the state average.

The province of New Brunswick has for several years assumed complete responsibility for funding schools, and has attempted to place emphasis on leveling up. This policy, of course, requires substantial amounts of new revenue if the level of spending in low expenditure districts is to be raised significantly.

Leveling down, on the other hand, also poses problems. Residents of high expenditure districts generally will oppose any attempt to reduce the quality of their schools. And while the relationship between expenditure level and school quality is not perfect, the court in the *Van Dusartz* case stated well the logic:

> *While the correlation between expenditure per pupil and the quality of education may be open to argument, the court must assume that it is high. To do otherwise would be to hold that in those wealthy districts where the per pupil expenditure is higher than some real or imaginary normn, the school boards are merely wasting the taxpayers' money. The court is not willing to so hold, absent some strong evidence.*

Educational Overburden

The problem of municipal overburden, i.e., the higher demand for public services which is characteristic of densely populated urban areas, has been the subject of much

discussion in recent years. Local public services are financed primarily from the property tax, the same tax which provides the bulk of local school revenue. Although large cities tend to have a relatively large property tax base, the total burden placed upon their tax base often is heavier than it is in areas where the demand for such public services as police protection, highways, and the like is low.

Not only do urban areas have a municipal overburden; they also have an educational overburden. Research conducted by the National Educational Finance Project has shown that the educational programs needed by some pupils are much more expensive than the programs needed by others. Programs for the mentally handicapped, for example, cost about 1.9 times as much per pupil as programs for normal children in regular elementary school classrooms; programs for physically handicapped children are 3.5 times as expensive as programs for normal children; and compensatory education programs are about twice as costly as programs for normal children. Not only are educational programs for these target groups more expensive, but some school districts have high concentrations of pupils who require these special programs. Large cities are likely to have a higher than average percentage of pupils who require more costly special education programs, although such needs are not confined to large cities. Many rural districts and some suburban districts also have high concentrations of pupils who require special educational treatment. Unless a full state funding program makes adequate allowance for the education overburden which exists in districts where there are large numbers of pupils who require high cost educational programs, equalization of educational opportunity will remain a myth.

Local Support

Although full state funding does not completely rule out revenue from local school tax levies, it is clear that any revenue obtained from such levies should provide only a very small percentage of the total revenue. The property tax base per pupil is likely to vary widely among the school districts of a state. Thus, the amount of money a district obtains from local school taxes is a function of the tax rate and the wealth of that district. Unless appropriate equalizing measures are employed (for example, a percentage or power equalizing scheme) the same local tax rate will produce varying amounts of revenue in each school district which, according to recent court decisions, is unconstitutional. The courts have not yet indicated how much variation in spending levels among school districts is permissible. It seems clear, however, that any substantial variation in expenditure level made possible solely by local school taxes will be unacceptable. Whether or not a deviation from the average of 10 percent, 20 percent, or even 30 percent will meet the constitutional test of equal protection remains to be seen.

Local Control

Closely related to the question of how much local support is permissible under full state funding is the issue of control of education. The concept of local control of education is deeply ingrained in the American educational and political heritage. It is argued that full state funding will weaken and ultimately destroy local control of education. Some of the most impassioned arguments in support of local school taxes are made by those who believe that unless a substantial share of educational revenue is provided from local tax levies, local control of education will be lost.

Proponents of full state funding argue that, under existing systems of financing education, local control is really no more than a cruel hoax. They point out that the decision-making power implied by local control is severely limited in school districts where the tax base is small; that even if such districts levy a very high tax rate, they will have too little revenue to permit any effective decision-making with regard to the scope

and quality of their educational program; and that as a practical matter, only wealthy school districts can exercise much control over the scope and quality of the educational program they provide for children.

Research does not support the contention that a high level of state funding is always accompanied by the imposition of rigid controls over local school districts. Although full state funding may reduce the decision-making parameters of local school boards, there is no reason why full state funding must inevitably lead to a loss of local control. It may be argued that if the quality of a child's education may not be a function of the wealth of the district in which he lives, it also should not be a function of the ignorance of his parents or the low aspiration of his neighbors.

School District Organization

Closely related to the issue of local control is the issue of school district organization. Education is a state function, at least in the eyes of the law. The state created local school districts to operate schools and delegated them authority to levy taxes. Delegation of taxing authority to smaller units of government almost invariably results in differences among these units in the size of their tax base. As a general rule, the smaller the taxing units the more likely it is that wide variations in size of tax base will occur.

In many states, reorganization could narrow markedly the range between the wealth of the poorest and the richest school district in the state. In fact, reorganizing school districts so that each district would have the same property tax base per pupil would be one way of meeting the test applied in *Serrano*. One must recognize, however, that school district reorganization often produces situations where emotion prevails over reason. Thus, it is not a promising solution.

Under a full state funding plan the state could hardly permit the continued operation of small, inefficient school district, for there is ample research showing that economies of scale do exist in schools. Over time, the state would undoubtedly require school district reorganization to achieve districts that could be operated efficiently. However, a full state funding program might produce less resistance to school district reorganization, for it would eliminate the tax advantages presently enjoyed by districts that are enclaves of high value property.

Teacher Salaries

Education is a very labor-intensive enterprise, with 75 percent or more of expenditures for current operations going to pay the salaries of teachers and other employees. Collective action, together with teacher shortages, has produced substantial increases in teacher salary scales over the past several years.

Strong state teacher organizations tend to concentrate on a few key school districts, negotiate substantial increases in salary and fringe benefits for teachers in those districts, and then use these agreements to gain leverage in bargaining with other districts. Boards of education, on the other hand, have rarely joined forces to resist the demands of teacher organizations. The resulting "whipsaw" effect makes it very difficult for individual school boards to resist teacher association demands. Because of the strong bargaining position of teachers, fear is often expressed that if the state appropriates any additional money for education, most of it will go to increase the salaries of teachers and other school personnel.

If full state funding of education is adopted, it may be necessary to establish a statewide teacher salary schedule as one basis for allocating funds to individual districts. This would require that bargaining be done at the state level, probably between teacher organizations and the state legislature and/or the governor. Provision could be made for slight departures from the basic state schedule to accommodate local variations such as

differences in cost of living, less attractive working conditions or isolation. Adoption of a statewide salary schedule for teachers may be necessary to convince legislators that any additional state funds for education will not flow directly into higher teacher salaries without regard for the quality of service the teachers provide.

Federal Role

Our definition of full state funding dealt only with non-federal revenues. As noted, general federal aid or revenues shared with the states by the federal government could easily be accommodated by dealing with them as if they were state revenues.

One important role of federal revenue could be to replace local revenue for school support. An increase in the amount of federal revenue made available for general educational support would enable the states to reduce their reliance on revenue from property taxes. Even relatively small additional amounts of federal revenue would enable the states to support an increase in the level of spending in low expenditure districts without increasing either state or local taxes. Federal revenue might also be employed to encourage the states to adopt school support programs which would meet the test enunciated in the *Serrano* decision. It would appear that in most states, no substantial reduction in property taxes is likely to occur unless federal (or state) revenue is made available to replace some of the revenue now being supplied by local property taxes.

Closely tied to the question of the federal role in providing revenue for education is the issue of federal control over education. Experience indicates that categorical federal aids are more likely to distort local decisions than are general federal aids. Federal aid programs which require matching expenditures by state or local governments also tend to distort local decisions and, more important, are not likely to result in greater equality to educational opportunity.

Capital Outlay and Debt Service

The provisions for state support of capital outlay expenditures by local school districts vary considerably from state to state. Some states provide no state support for capital outlay; others have developed extensive provisions for financing local capital expenditures. There can be little doubt that the quality of buildings and equipment available to support a child's education does affect the quality of educational opportunity afforded that child. Children who must attend school in overcrowded, poorly ventilated, improperly lighted, or inadequately equipped classrooms simply do not have the same quality of educational opportunity enjoyed by those who attend school in well designed, properly equipped facilities.

Expenditures for capital outlay will require special consideration in any full state funding program. For one thing, unless school districts are quite large their capital outlay expenditures tend to be lumpy, (i.e., they do not recur regularly), although for an entire state the capital outlay requirements in any given year will be much more regular and predictable than they are in an individual school district. Also, many school districts have provided adequately for their building and equipment needs; others have a large number of inadequate school buildings which should be replaced.

Funding capital outlay expenditures from local taxes poses the same problems that arise in funding expenditures for current operation from local taxes. Some districts have a much larger tax base than other districts and are able to finance needed capital outlay expenditures while still maintaining relatively low tax rates. Another problem is that districts of low wealth often receive a lower credit rating and are required to pay higher interest rates on the bonds which they sell. Not only are such districts less able to afford the necessary capital outlay expenditures, but they must pay more for them.

Closely related to the problem of funding capital outlay expenditures is the problem

of handling existing debt. Most school districts finance their major capital outlay expenditures by issuing bonds. Revenue from local property taxes often is pledged to guarantee the payment of principal and interest on these bonds as it comes due. If the full state funding program contemplates payment of existing debt as it matures, then bond holders must be protected by a guarantee that existing obligations will be honored. If the full state funding program excludes repayment of existing debt, then a local tax levy will be required until such time as the outstanding debt is retired.

Provisions for funding capital outlay expenditures and provisions for handling the repayment of existing debt are both related to the problem of program definition. They require separate consideration, however, because they involve school years other than the current year. Capital outlay involves the purchase of buildings and equipment expected to last many years; retirement of debt involves the satisfaction of obligations incurred in the past. Failure to include provisions for financing capital outlay and for retiring existing debt in a full state funding program will require continuation of local property tax levies to meet these obligations. If reduction or replacement of revenue from the property tax is a major goal, it is clear that a full state funding program must provide for the financing of capital outlay and debt service.

Accountability

Educators throughout the United States are being bombarded with demands that they be "accountable." Legislators and citizens are asking for evidence that expenditures for education are achieving the desired objectives. It is unlikely that the demand for accountability will abate soon. Consequently, meeting the demand for accountability will be an important consideration in any program of full state funding.

The concept of accountability is closely related to the economic concept of productivity, which is concerned with maximizing the output obtained from a given level of input. Full state funding might afford a much greater opportunity for state policy makers to demand an accounting of the results obtained from previous expenditures as a condition of continued or increased expenditures for education. From this point of view, full state funding would enable the state to exercise greater control over local educational programs. On the other hand, to respond adequately to the demand for accountability will require the development of assessment procedures, the building of information systems, and the application of analytical techniques which are beyond the capability of most local school districts. A state education agency, given adequate resources, should be able to develop an assessment and evaluation system which would provide information on whether or not the schools are achieving their objectives.

Political Acceptability

Running through each of the above issues is the question of political acceptability. There are 50 state school systems in the United States and each is somewhat unique. Thus, no single approach to full state funding is likely to be uniformly acceptable. Each state must approach the question of full state funding by examining the strengths and weaknesses of its present program for financing education and identifying the improvements to be sought. Final decisions with regard to full state funding must eventually be made by each state legislature. It is unrealistic to expect state legislators to impose new taxes or to substantially increase existing taxes unless other more unpopular taxes can be reduced at the same time.

Movement toward full state funding undoubtedly will occur on a broken front, if at all, and will vary according to the current situation in each state. There are good reasons for arguing that any transition should be a gradual one, with property tax revenue gradually being replaced by revenue from other tax bases. One may question, for

example, whether a school district currently spending $500 per pupil could invest wisely an additional $500 per pupil if it suddenly were made available. The political acceptability of specific methods and procedures for achieving full state funding will be an important factor in any progress made toward implementing this approach to financing education.

Approaches to Full State Funding

State school finance programs have two major dimensions; one deals with raising revenue, the other with allocating funds. If federal funds are excluded, the revenue dimension includes three general approaches – complete state support, a combination of state and local support, and complete local support. Under Serrano-type decisions, complete local support would be permissible only if every school district in the state had the same amount of tax base per pupil. Other than Hawaii, where the entire state is a single school district, this type of district organization exists in no state and it is hard to imagine that such a district organization could easily be established.

The allocation dimension of state school finance programs is concerned with the way in which revenue is allocated to school districts. Allocation models fall within two broad categories; flat grant models and equalization models. Flat grant models allocate funds without regard to a local school district's taxpaying ability, while in equalization models districts of less wealth receive a larger share of state funds than do districts of greater wealth.

Recall that our definition of full state funding provided that all or nearly all of the revenue for support of public elementary and secondary schools is to be provided by the state. Thus, we are concerned only with revenue models in which all revenue is provided by the state or those in which a small amount of revenue, say not more than 20 percent, is obtained from local school taxes. On the allocation side, the Serrano-type decisions require that steps be taken to insure that the amount of revenue per pupil available in any school district is not a function of the taxable wealth within that district, but of the taxable wealth of the state as a whole.

To illustrate some possible approaches to full state funding, we shall examine three general models:

1. Complete state funding with no provision for local school taxes.
2. Full state funding with the state providing a basic flat grant per pupil and permitting local school districts to supplement state revenue by up to 20 percent with revenue obtained from a local tax levy.
3. Percentage equalizing with the state providing a basic flat grant per pupil and permitting the school district to supplement this basic grant with a local tax levy. In this model, however, the state will provide additional funds to compensate for deficiencies in a local district's tax base relative to other districts in the state. This will be accomplished by establishing a guaranteed tax base and supplementing local tax revenue with additional state aid so that each district that levies a given tax rate is assured of receiving the same amount of revenue per pupil.

To illustrate the operation of various school support models, the National Educational Finance Project developed a prototype state consisting of 32 districts which operate K-12 educational programs and enroll at least 1800 pupils. From this prototype state, eight districts were selected to illustrate how each of the three models would affect various types of districts. Information about the pupil population and tax base of each district is shown in Table 1 and the eight districts are described briefly in the following paragraphs.

District 1.–A large suburban municipality, surrounded by other large suburbs. The backbone of the economy of this district is a very large heavy manufacturing plant, plus

TABLE 1

AVERAGE DAILY MEMBERSHIP, WEIGHTED AVERAGE DAILY MEMBERSHIP AND EQUALIZED VALUATION OF THE EIGHT SAMPLE DISTRICTS

District	*Average Daily Membership (ADM)*	*Weighted Average Daily Membership (WADM)*	*Equalized Assessed Valuation (in thousands) (EAV)*	*EAV per Pupil in ADA (in Dollars)*	*EAV per Pupil in WADM (in Dollars)*
1	14,230	17,934	$711,500	$50,000	$43,011
5	5,197	7,682	181,070	34,841	23,571
9	7,058	10,792	226,790	32,132	21,015
13	4,065	6,014	107,516	26,449	17,878
17	73,945	97,005	1,512,960	20,460	15,597
21	25,011	35,508	495,610	19,816	13,958
25	208,014	324,828	3,580,364	17,212	11,022
31	6,064	9,116	66,219	10,920	7,264

several small machine shops. Housing in half of the district is of early 1900 vintage and the other half is post World War II. This district ranks first in the state in terms of property valuation per pupil and second in terms of personal income per capita.

District 5.—A large rural district with portions relatively isolated. Over 75 percent of the land areas of the district is cultivated and agricultural production and food processing provide the principal employment opportunities. There is also a resort and vacation areas in part of the district. The district ranks fifth in the state in property value per pupil and sixth in personal income.

District 9.—This is a sparsely populated rural school district. Food production and agricultural activities constitute the principal sources of income and employment, with some resort and recreational activity. The district ranks 9th in property value per pupil, but 28th in personal income.

District 13.—A rural district with the largest farms in the state. Agriculture is about equally divided between crops and livestock. Food processing is the chief industry. Summer recreational resorts supplement the economic base. The district ranks 13th in property value per pupil and 18th in income.

District 17.—A suburban-rural district with a city of 28,000 that is part of the state's largest metropolitan area. Industrial plants and a large airport are found in the district. There is some farming, fishing and recreational activity in portions of the district. Two medium-size colleges are found within the geographic area of the district. Although it ranks 17th in property value per pupil, the district ranks 14th in personal income.

District 21.—This district includes one of the state's leading industrial centers,

although it is basically a rural valley which includes the state's sixth largest city. Over two-thirds of the land area is devoted to fruit production, livestock and dairying. Several heavy industries are located in the district and the city serves as a wholesale distribution center. Although the district ranks 21st in property value per pupil, it ranks 17th in income and 12th in sales.

District 25.—This urban district serves as the center for trade and industry in the state. It includes one of the ten largest cities in the United States and contains nearly 30 percent of the state's school population. The district includes two state-supported colleges and eleven private colleges. It ranks 25th in property valuation, 11th in income, and 9th in sales.

District 31.—An isolated district in a rather hilly area of the state. The terrain provides opportunities for summer and winter sports and production of timber and forest products. A small amount of coal is still mined, but in greatly reduced quantities from previous years. Agriculture is very limited and industrial opportunities are few. By all economic measures the district is at or near the bottom. It ranks 31st in property value per pupil and 32nd in personal income.

To facilitate comparisons between the three models, it was assumed that the same total amount of state revenue is available for distribution in each model except the power equalizing model, where some additional revenue is needed. It was also assumed that the funds provided by the state are appropriated from the state's general fund and are obtained from several sources, including a ten-mill state-wide property tax. Each model involves only state support for current operation. No provision is made for transportation, nor is provision made for support of capital outlay or the servicing of existing debt.

Complete State Funding

In this model we shall assume that all revenue is provided from state sources with no local tax levy for education. One approach is to allocate a flat grant per pupil sufficient to cover the total cost of an adequate educational program as defined by the state. We shall assume a flat grant of $1,000 per pupil is provided. Figure 1 illustrates the effect of this distribution plan on each of the eight districts. Note that each district receives $1,000 per pupil. This plan clearly meets the Serrano test, for the expenditure per pupil is a function only of the total wealth of the state.

A second approach is to provide a flat grant per pupil but to allocate funds to local school districts on a weighted pupil basis. In this approach, pupils will be weighted according to the relative cost of the educational program in which they are enrolled. For purposes of illustration, we shall assume that the total amount of revenue available remains the same as in the previous example, but that it is distributed on the basis of weighted pupil units. The weights employed were those developed in the National Educational Finance Project and are shown in Table 2. The weighted pupil technique is based on the knowledge that per pupil operating costs are higher for special educational programs and that operating costs also vary by educational level. The method used assigns a weight of 1.0 to the cost per pupil of programs for regular pupils enrolled in grades 1–6. Appropriate weights are then assigned for pupils in high cost special programs, for pupils in isolated elementary schools, and for pupils in junior and senior high schools. The weights shown in Table 2 were based on current practice in school systems reputed to have high quality programs.

If the same total amount of money is distributed as was distributed in the previous example, the value of each weighted pupil unit will be $675. The total amount of revenue received by each district was computed by multiplying the total weighted pupil units for each district by $675. This total was then divided by the district's unweighted average

TABLE 2

SCALES USED FOR WEIGHTED PUPILS

Programs	*Weighting for Cost Differential*
Early Childhood	
3 year olds	1.40
4 year olds	1.40
Kindergarten (5 year olds)	1.30
Non-Isolated Basic Elementary and Secondary	
Grades 1-6	1.00
Grades 7-9	1.20
Grades 10-12	1.40
Isolated Basic Elementary and Secondary[a]	
Elementary Size	
150-200	1.10
100-149	1.20
Less than 100	1.30
Junior High	
150-200	1.30
100-149	1.40
Less than 100	1.50
Senior High	
150-200	1.50
100-149	1.60
Less than 100	1.70
Special (Exceptional)	
Mentally Handicapped	1.90
Physically Handicapped	3.25
Emotionally Handicapped	2.80
Special Learning Disorder	2.40
Speech Handicapped	1.20
Compensatory Education	
Basic: Income under $4,000	2.00
Vocational-Technical	1.80

[a] Elementary schools must be 10 miles or more by road from another elementary school in order to be weighted for isolation; junior high schools 15 or more miles from another junior high school and senior high schools, 20 miles or more from another senior high school.

* Source: R. L. Johns, et al., *Alternative Programs for Financing Education*, Vol. V, NEFP (Gainesville, Fla.: National Educational Finance Project, 1971), p. 272.

daily membership to illustrate the effect on total dollars per pupil in each district when this method of allocation is employed. The total dollars available per unweighted pupil are shown in Figure 2.

Recall that in the first example each district received $1.00 per unweighted pupil in average daily membership. If the weighted pupil method is used, District 1, because it has relatively few pupils who need high cost programs, will receive $851 per unweighted pupil rather than $1.00 per pupil which it received in the first example. District 25, the large urban district, would receive $1,054 per unweighted pupil (rather than $1,000) because it has a relatively large number of pupils who need high cost programs. Weighted pupil units more nearly reflect the true cost of providing all pupils with educational programs tailored to meet their individual needs. The data displayed in Figure 2 show clearly that high cost pupils are not evenly distributed among the school districts of a state. In our example, Districts 1, 17, and 21 will receive a smaller allocation; Districts 5 and 13 will receive approximately the same allocation; and Districts 9, 25, and 31 will receive a larger allocation than they would receive under the unweighted pupil method.

Full State Funding With Minimal Optional Local Tax

This approach to full state funding would permit a local school district to levy voluntarily a small local tax for education to supplement the basic grant provided by the state. For illustrative puposes we shall assume that the local contribution may not exceed 20 percent of the state grant ($200 per unweighted pupil) and that each district will levy a property tax of four mills. The resulting distribution is shown in Figure 3.

The four mill levy in District 1, the wealthiest district in the state in terms of property tax base, will produce $200 per unweighted pupil. When added to the $1,000 basic state grant this will provide a total of $1,200 per pupil. District 31, which has a small property tax base, will obtain only $44 per pupil from a four mill local tax levy giving it a total of $1,044 per pupil. The difference between the highest and the lowest district in total dollars per pupil would be $156. However, even if a district had chosen to levy less than four mills, the range in expenditure between the highest and the lowest district would not exceed $200. Whether or not this much variation in spending would be permissible under the standard applied in recent cases has not yet been decided.

If weighted pupil units are employed and each district is allowed to levy up to four mills of local school tax, a somewhat different allocation pattern emerges. Figure 4 provides a graphic display of the results. We shall assume that the same total amount of state revenue is available for distribution, permitting a basic grant of $675 per weighted pupil unit. To facilitate comparison, the data displayed in Figure 4 show the total dollars available per unweighted pupil in each of the eight districts. Note that District 1 now has $1,051 per pupil compared to $1,200 when the distribution was based on unweighted pupils. District 17, which had $1,082 per pupil available under the unweighted pupil approach, has $968 available when the allocation is based on weighted pupil units. District 25, the large city, has $1,123 available under the weighted pupil approach compared to $1,069 when pupils were not weighted.

Power Equalizing – Guaranteed Tax Base Version

The third approach to full state funding will combine a basic grant of $1,00 per unweighted pupil with an optional local tax of not more than mills. However, in this model the yield of the local school tax will be equalized by having the state guarantee a minimum tax base per pupil. We shall assume that the state has guaranteed a property tax base of $50,000 for each unweighted pupil. We also shall assume that our eight districts have elected to levy a local tax of 2, 5, 6, 3, 5½, 3, 4, and 2 mills, respectively. Further, we shall assume that the state will match the local district's tax levy up to the maximum

FIGURE 1 – Complete State Funding (Unweighted Pupils)

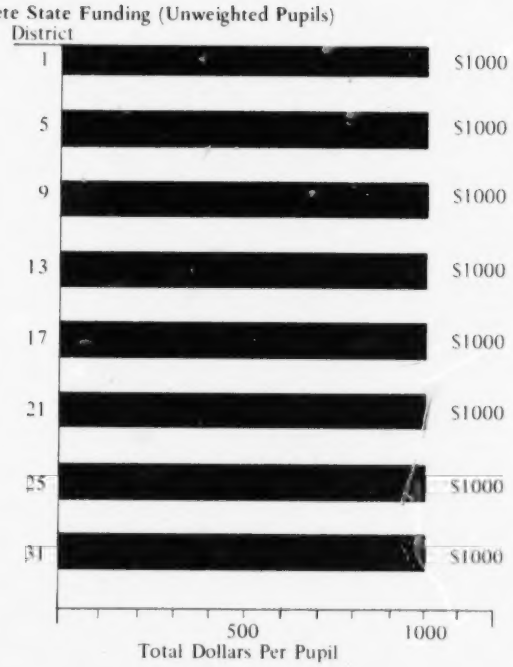


FIGURE 2 – Complete State Funding (Weighted Pupils)

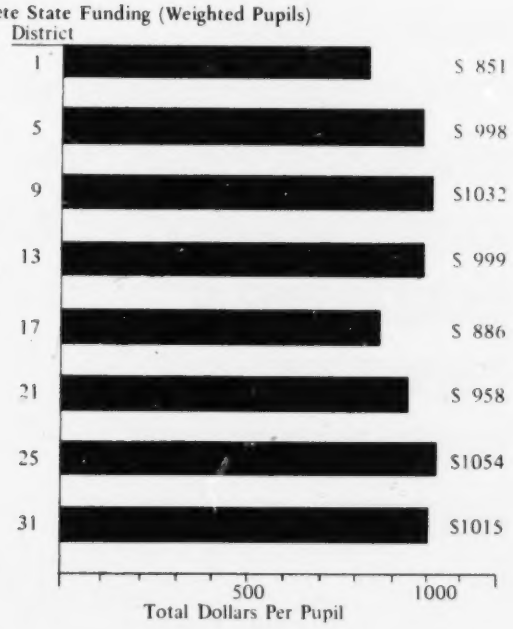


FIGURE 3–Basic State Grant With Four Mill Local Option (Unweighted Pupils)

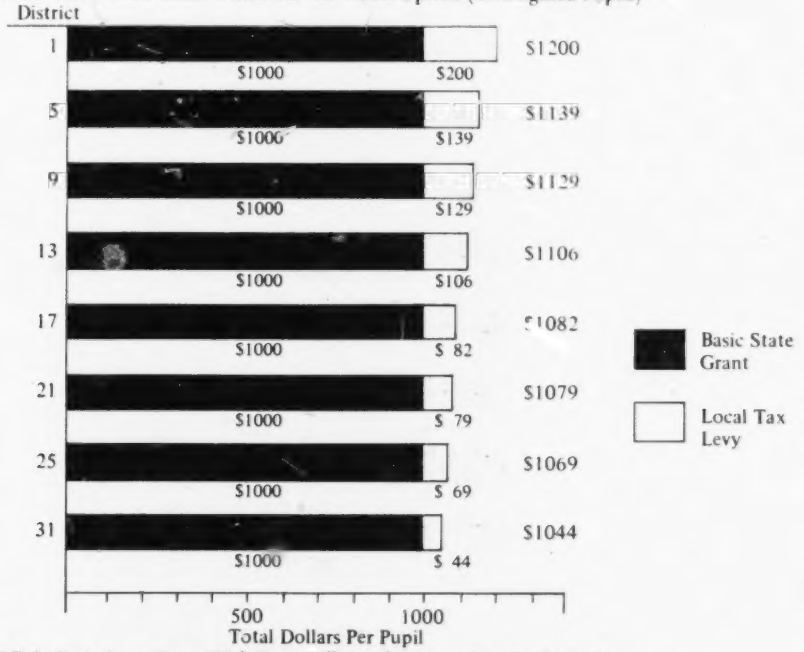


FIGURE 4–Basic State Grant With Four Mill Local Option (Weighted Pupils)

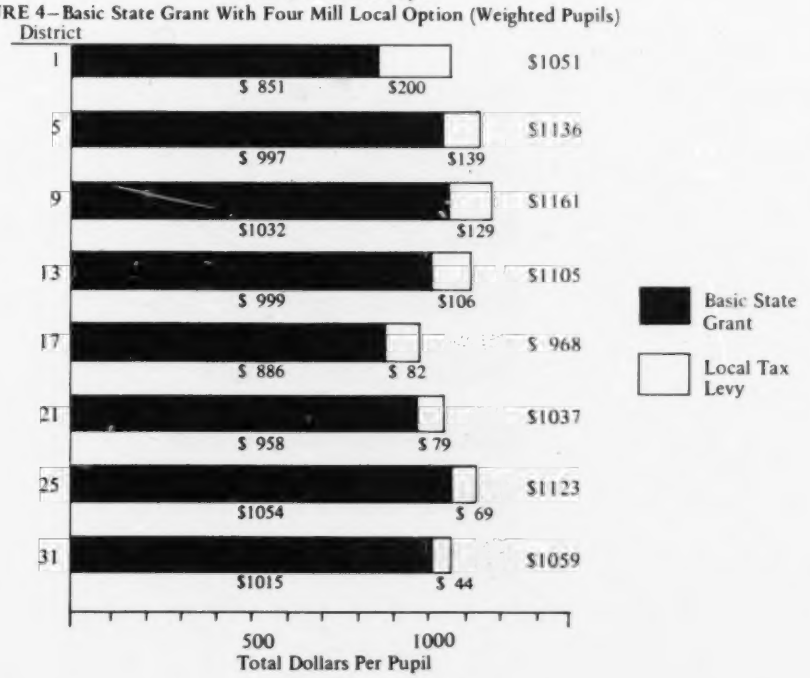


FIGURE 5 – Percentage Equalizing (Unweighted Pupils)

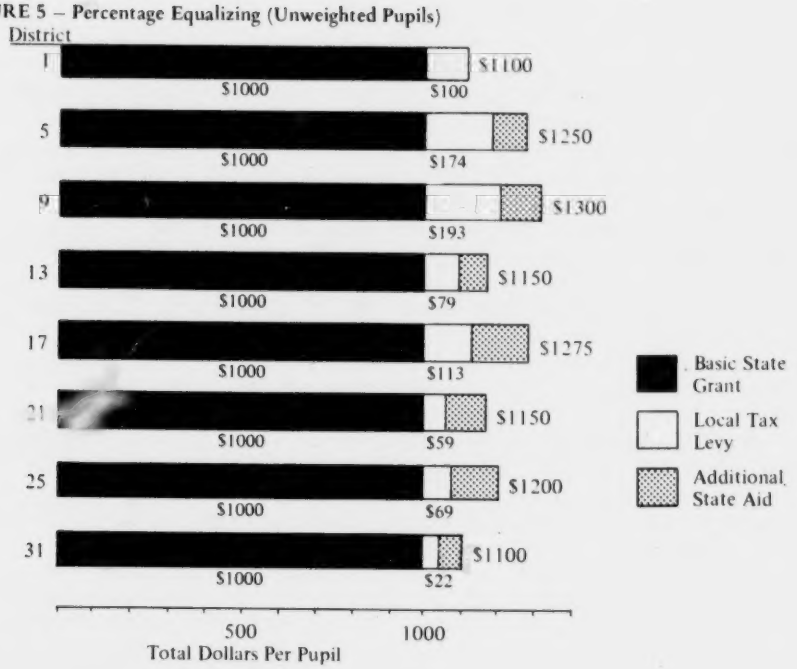
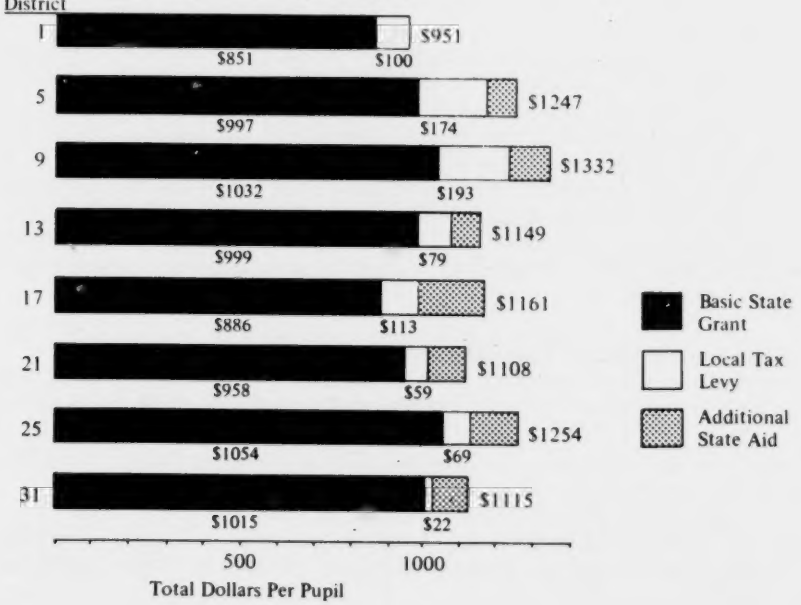


FIGURE 6 – Percentage Equalizing (Weighted Pupils)



permissible six mills on the difference between the district's actual market value of property per pupil and the $50,000 market value guaranteed by the state. Using this formula, the amount of revenue available to a district is a function of the district's tax effort, not of its wealth. Note also that the guaranteed tax base in this example corresponds with the actual tax base in the wealthiest of the eight districts. If the guaranteed tax base were lower than the actual tax base in the wealthiest district, Serrano-type decisions probably would require the state to confiscate any revenue produced by an optional local tax which exceeded the amount of revenue produced by the same mill rate applied to the state guaranteed valuation per pupil.

Figure 5 displays the amount of revenue available per pupil when the allocation is based on unweighted average daily membership. District 1, the wealthiest district, and District 31, the least wealthy district, each chose to levy two mills of local school tax. Since the property tax base in District 1 is $50,000 per pupil, this district will receive no additional state aid and will have at its disposal $1100 per pupil – the basic state grant of $1,000 per pupil and the $100 of local revenue obtained from a two mill tax levy. District 31, which also elected to levy two mills of local tax, will receive the $1,000 basic state grant, $22 from the local two mill tax levy, and $78 in additional state aid. Thus, both District 1 and District 31 will have available a total of $1,100 per unweighted pupil. (Note that the amount of revenue available from the local tax is a function of the guaranteed tax base, not the tax base actually available in the district.) District 9 chose to levy the maximum permissible six mill local tax. The six mill tax actually produced $193 and additional state aid totaled $107, giving the district a total of $1,300 per unweighted pupil. District 25, the large city, chose a four mill local tax levy which produced $69. The state provided $131 of additional state aid – the difference between the actual yield of the local tax and the $200 yield guaranteed by the state ($50,000 x .004). Thus, District 25 had available a total of $1,200 per unweighted pupil – $1,000 from the basic state grant, $69 from the local tax, and $131 from additional state aid.

Figure 6 displays the amount of revenue available per *unweighted* pupil in each district if the basic state aid were distributed on the basis of $675 per weighted pupil unit. It is assumed that all other conditions have remained the same, so that the local tax yield and additional state aid are unchanged in this example. Note that District 1 will obtain only $951 per unweighted pupil unit under this allocation plan contrasted with $1100 per unweighted unit under the previous plan. This reflects the fact that District 1 has a relatively small percentage of pupils who require high cost programs. District 25, the large urban district, will receive $1254 per unweighted pupil unit in this example contrasted with $1200 in the previous example. Again, this reflects a relatively higher concentration of pupils in the large urban district who require special educational programs. District 5, District 13, and District 31 will have nearly the same amount of revenue per pupil available under either plan.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Three Models

The three models we have examined are among those commonly considered when full state funding is discussed. They do not exhaust the possibilities; many combinations and permutations of these three models, and others, are possible. Each model has certain strong points and weaknesses and these will differ according to the way in which a full state funding program is actually defined and implemented.

In general, the complete state funding model may be evaluated as follows:

1. The model would eliminate any relationship between the wealth (tax base) of a school district and the amount of revenue available to educate pupils in that district.
2. To the extent that the state's tax system is more equitable than the present

combination of state and local financing, the tax burden would be equalized.

3. The range in quality of educational offerings among the schools of the state would tend to be narrowed, although it is far from certain that the overall quality of education would be improved.
4. There is some danger that local decision making might be impaired or diluted, although experience indicates that a high level of state funding is not incompatible with substantial local control over educational matters. Clearly, local decision makers would be less concerned with how to raise the necessary revenue and more concerned with using the available revenue as efficiently as possible.
5. The political acceptability of this model is likely to be greater in states where a high level of state funding currently exists than in states where the current level of state funding is low. The absence of any optional local tax levy would weigh heavily in some states. Another factor affecting its political acceptability would be the extent to which the model could be tied to local property tax relief.

The second model, full state funding with an option for local districts to supplement the basic state grant by not more than 20 percent through local tax levies, may be evaluated as follows:

1. This model will reduce, but not eliminate, the relationship between the amount of revenue available and the wealth of the individual district. The amount of revenue produced by the optional local tax levy clearly would vary according to the wealth of the local district. Whether or not a 20 percent differential in spending would be considered an unconstitutional denial of equal protection has not yet been determined.
2. Since 80 percent or more of the total revenue for school operation would be provided from state sources, the tax burden would tend to be equalized but to a lesser extent than in the complete state funding model.
3. The range in educational opportunity would tend to be equalized under this model, although not as much as it would under the complete state funding model. Equality of opportunity can be increased if appropriate weightings are used to reflect the cost differentials associated with various types of educational programs.
4. Maintaining a local tax option should satisfy those fearful that local control of education would be severely impaired. However, whether or not local control is facilitated or impeded by this model, or any other model, will depend upon whether or not the state chooses to exercise its inherent power or delegate it to local units.
5. This model would probably enjoy greater political acceptability in states with a strong tradition of local financing and local control. It must be recognized, however, that the revenue produced by the local tax is purely a function of local district wealth, not of the wealth of the state.

The third general model, power equalizing, retains a local tax option, but unties the yield of that local tax from the wealth of the district. A number of variations of this model such as tax yield equalizing or percentage equalizing might be used. This model may be evaluated as follows:

1. The model would eliminate the relationship between the wealth of a local district and the amount of revenue available to educate pupils within the district.
2. Equalization of the tax burden for support of education would be as great as under the complete state support model.
3. Equalization of educational opportunity would be facilitated, particularly if appropriately weighted pupil units are employed as the basis for distribution.
4. By permitting local districts to levy a local property tax, they are given an opportunity to influence the level of expenditure for education – the claimed ***sine***

qua non of local control. It may be argued, however, that if the revenue available for education is too important to be a function of the wealth of a local district, it is also too important to be a function of local preferences for educational spending.

5. The political acceptability of this model undoubtedly would vary from state to state. One disadvantage of the model is that the amount of revenue required beyond the basic state grant depends upon local decisions and thus makes state budgeting difficult. However, the opportunity to permit an optional local levy, coupled with the assumed relationship between local control and local financing, would lend appeal to this model in many states.

Pros and Cons of Full State Funding

Proposals for full state funding of expenditures for elementary and secondary education are almost certain to provoke heated debate. Numerous pros and cons undoubtedly can and will be cited. In this final section, we shall identify and discuss some of the major arguments which are likely to be advanced on each side of the issue.

Advantages Claimed for Full State Funding

Equalization of educational opportunity. –It seems clear that the present disparities in spending among the school districts of a state can not be tolerated in a country which has long espoused the principle of equality of educational opportunity. Advocates of full state funding point out that under most current state support programs the discrepancy between the level of spending in wealthy districts and poor districts tends to increase rather than decrease over time. Although the relationship between expenditure level and educational quality is not perfect, both common sense and research indicate that a positive relationship does exist. While money along may not be sufficient to guarantee educational quality, it is certainly necessary. Full state funding would reduce the range between the spending level of the highest and lowest expenditure school district in a state thereby providing greater equality of educational opportunity.

Adoption of full state funding could greatly increase the equality of educational opportunity available within a state if it were accompanied by a successful effort to raise the expenditure level in districts which currently are at the low end of the expenditure continuum. Few would argue that this should be an abrupt change, for it is likely that such districts could not spend wisely sudden large amounts of additional revenue. A systematic effort to raise the level of expenditure in low expenditure districts is likely to be accompanied by monitoring by the state to insure wise use of the additional funds. While this may infringe on traditional local prerogatives, it will be necessary to assure state policy-makers that school funds provided from the general revenues of the state are not being wasted.

Greater tax equity. –Another advantage claimed for full state funding is that it will result in greater equity among taxpayers, especially if it is tied to property tax relief. It is generally conceded that property ownership does not always accurately reflect taxpaying ability, and that the property tax bears more heavily on the elderly and upon low income groups. Even the most ardent advocates of full state funding recognize that in many states abandonment of the property tax as a source of revenue for education is simply not possible. It would require too large an increase in other taxes to be politically acceptable, and would provide a substantial windfall to current owners of property. However, they claim that use of a statewide property tax for school support would help to even out the present inequities in tax rates among districts and also would lead to improved administration of the property tax. Property assessment is an abomination in many states and it is claimed that adoption of the property tax as a source of state revenue should

lead to improved administration of the tax.

It is also claimed that full state funding would help to modernize the tax base used for support of education. Ownership of property admittedly is not closely related to either ability to pay taxes or to benefits received from education. Furthermore, the property tax is not very responsive to changes in economic conditions. It is argued that full state funding will result in greater reliance on more productive and less regressive state taxes, and thus will lead to greater equity for taxpayers.

Reduction of interdistrict competition. –The existing decentralized system for financing education often produces intense competition between school districts. This competition is particularly apparent when one examines staffing practices, salary schedules and fringe benefits. Districts which are able to raise large amounts of local revenue with a relatively low tax rate have an unfair advantage in competing for the most able teachers because they are able to offer high salaries, smaller classes and a wider range of fringe benefits. It is argued that full state funding, accompanied by a statewide teacher salary schedule, would reduce or eliminate the whipsaw effect of interdistrict competition. It must be ackowledged, however, that bargaining on teacher salary schedules at the state level could easily result in statewide work stoppages if a satisfactory agreement could not be reached.

More efficient district organization. –Full state funding undoubtedly would result in the eventual elimination of school districts which are unable to offer adequate educational programs at reasonable cost. For one reason, it is unlikely that the state would not long continue to support school districts of this type. A second reason would be the inability of such districts to provide educational programs adequate to meet the needs of students, thus leading to increasing pressure from parents for reorganization or consolidation.

Changing local priorities. –It is argued that present funding arrangements virtually force local school boards and administrators to spend the bulk of their time attempting to obtain the resources they need. With full state funding, all school districts would be in about the same position with regard to revenue and school board members and administrators could devote their full attention to determining how best to use the resources available to them. Under a full state funding program, a school administrator's success would be judged by his ability to use efficiently the resources at his disposal rather than by his ability to promote career moves to more affluent districts.

Disadvantages of Full State Funding

Regression toward mediocrity. –Those who are not sold on the advantages of full state funding point to the fact that while equalization of educational opportunity may be achieved, the equalization is likely to be at a mediocre level. They fear that major attention will be directed toward reducing the revenue available to high expenditure districts rather than toward increasing the revenue available in low expenditure districts, i.e., "leveling down" rather than "leveling up." It is evident that leveling down would require a smaller amount of new revenue. However, a number of analyses indicate that wealthy districts wield greater political influence than do poor districts. If this is true, then it is more likely that leveling up will occur, for most wealthy districts will not wish to have their current expenditure level reduced to any marked degree.

Dilution of local control.–It has long been contended that control is so closely related to support that the two can not be separated. Thus opponents of full state funding argue that the control over education which traditionally has been exercised at the local district level eventually will be lost under a full state funding program. It is undoubtedly true that vigilance will be required if local control is to be retained. As noted previously, however, some persons argue that local control without access to adequate resources is nothing but

a cruel hoax. It is also argued that freeing local decision-makers from responsibility for raising revenue will permit them to concentrate on other important educational concerns. Even those who advocate full state funding most strongly usually advocate retention of local control over decisions concerning the employment and retention of staff, the content of the curriculum, and other matters relating to the day-to-day operation of the schools.

Innovation and experimentation. –Opponents of full state funding often point to the diversity which is possible under current financing arrangements. They argue that the existence of high expenditure school districts provides numerous "laboratories" where educational experimentation and innovation may go forward. They fear that full state funding would eliminate these "light house" schools. Advocates of full state funding quesion whether light house schools are effective laboratories for experimentation and innovation. They note that light house schools invariably are high expenditure schools, and that their programs are tailored for a particular type of student population. They question whether such programs are equally appropriate in a rural area or in an urban ghetto, arguing that other approaches to research and development would be more effective in promoting desirable educational change.

Flexibility. –It must be admitted that centralized financing could lead to the imposition of rigid allocation formulas and operating rules which would frustrate attempts to deal adequately with the widely varying needs found among the school districts of a state. Bureaucratic rigidity is, of course, not an unavoidable adjunct of full state funding. Care must be taken, however, lest local school systems are hamstrung in their attempts to deal with the educational problems which confront them by inflexible rules and procedures imposed by the state.

Conclusion

In this paper we have identifed some of the major problems and issues associated with full state funding of elementary and secondary schools. An attempt was made to present a balanced view of the subject with an objective discussion of the views of those who advocate full state funding and those who oppose it. Clearly, full state funding would represent a major change in the pattern of public school financing in nearly every state and thus merits careful study and reasoned debate rather than precipitous action. It is hoped that the information contained in this paper will help clarify the issues for the state decision-makers who must eventually decide this question.

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THE STATE EDUCATION AGENCY AT WORK

KENNETH H. HANSEN

1. A New Role: A New Vitality

Look in on a modern state department of education. You might be surprised.

What did you expect to find? A tired, flabby, swollen bureaucracy, busily but unproductively engaged in supervising, inspecting, enforcing, and grudgingly dispensing meager funds to eager local districts? Well, it is possible that is what you might find in some states because the states differ. More than likely, however, you would find a new contemporary, lively and vital state education agency which has outgrown or rejected its traditional role of authoritarian supervision and enforcement, and has eagerly assumed a new role of educational leadership in the state and productive service to its constituents.

State education agencies vary markedly, both because they represent differing histories and differing stages of development, and because they seek to respond to legitimately differing needs in the several states. The work and effectiveness of the agency may be enhanced or limited by its structure, its support, its staff, and the vision and leadership of its administrative chief and the state board of education which directs its activities, approves or disapproves its programs, and sets the tone for the entire operation.

More important, however, than any of these variables – structure, support, staff, or executive vision – is the self-concept the agency has of its own purpose and program, its major goals, and its compelling priorities. The state education agency is often in the last analysis pretty much what it believes itself to be. It may still prize and perform its historic supervisory and regulatory duties, blunting its potential effects by strict subservience to rules and regulations, operating as a routine bureaucracy without any real vision or purpose. More likely, however, the modern state department of education has chosen to move from these traditional and unproductive roles into new roles of leadership and service.

Since the goals and priorities chosen and accepted by the agency determine its activities, both current and future, our best understanding of the state education agency at work may come by looking first at how the goals are established and the priorities sorted out.

II. Establishing Goals and Setting Priorities

No state education agency is completely free to set its own goals and establish its own priorities. Both goals and priorities are determined partly by outside factors.

Every state education agency is only one of many competing and sometimes conflicting branches of state government, possessing the strengths and burdened by the limitations of any arm of state government. Although it may be granted degrees of freedom even beyond those which it exercises, no state agency is an autonomous, independent enterprise; it is an intergral part of state government as a whole.

For example, the state education agency is in every state a creature of constitutional provisions and legislative enactment. It has no independent right of being and no automatic claim on governmental or popular support. It is no more than – *though it may sometimes be much less than* – the constitution and the statutes say it may be.

The state education agency is dependent totally on legislative support. It has no real means of generating its own fiscal resources, no endowment and no gifts other than those which it may get in limited measure through special federal support programs and occasional foundation grants for research or program activities.

It is often starved by meager appropriations, constrained by antiquated civil service laws, hampered by legislative restrictions, and denigrated by the public it seeks to serve. It is frequently limited in the scope of its operations, usually being responsible only for elementary and secondary education and either sharing responsibility for or having no

responsibility in conjunction with community college education, the institutions of higher learning, vocational education, the education of institutionalized children, or other areas which might normally concern it. This limitation in scope is not necessarily either harmful or unwise, but it is one of the conditions which may further restrain the agency from independent pursuit of what it conceives to be significant educational goals and priorities.

Moreover, few if any state education agencies have any authorization for (or even desire for) authority actually to operate schools. Their typical constitutional and legislative mandate is to supervise and assist, but not *run* schools.

The state education agency is a middleman in more ways than one. Increasing federal support and influence may work to distort the priorities and determine the activities of some state departments of education – probably to a much lesser extent than is felt, but to an extent that nevertheless does push on the agency from the top down. But it suffers also from being pushed – or a feeling of being pushed – from the local level up. The persistent desire for the preservation of traditional patterns of local control makes it popular for local districts to resist any extension of or expression of authority on the part of the state agency; the local education authorities feel toward the state education agency the way the latter does toward the federal government. In this squeeze from above and below in the governmental hierarchy, the state education agency is caught in the middle.

Finally, the typical state education agency is blamed for much and credited for little. Whatever goes wrong in state level education is its fault; whatever goes right is often credited to someone else's initiative, ingenuity, and insight.

Nevertheless, constrained and dependent as it may be, the state education agency cannot escape its consitutional, statutory, and professional responsibility for establishing the goals and setting the priorities of its own work. It derives its goals and priorities essentially from three sources: its mandated mission as provided constitutionally and legislatively; the identified state needs in education; and its own interpretation of its purposes and aims.

Goals

Stating goals so that they are at once broad and inclusive and yet translatable into operating performance specifics is, as many state education agency personnel and state board members can testify from firsthand experience, an extremely difficult job. If the goal is too global, it remains a pious and pompous statement incapable of directing specific action. If the goal is stated too narrowly, the larger picture and the broader problems of education are obscured by petty operational details.

If, for example, a goal of the state education agency is to teach citizenship to all the children and youth enrolled in the schools of the state, no one could fault the goal – but no one could implement it either! On the other hand, if the citizenship goal is stated in such precise terms as *insuring that every student be able to list the requirements for holding state office* by the time he has finished high school, the goal may be achievable but unimportant.

What is needed, quite obviously, is both kinds of statements: the broad inclusive goals and the specific objectives and programs that are derived from them. Neither of these can stand alone.

Since goals are difficult to put into words, tending to be either too broad or too narrow, why is it necessary to formulate state educational goals at all? Why not just skip the goals and concentrate on programs and activities? The answer is that goals, even imperfectly stated ones, serve a very useful purpose. They serve as reference points – directing our attention, stimulating our action, focusing our energy. In one sense, goals are inherently philosophical and subjective: they state preferences, desires, wants, vague aspirations, whether of the populace of the state as a whole or expressed in terms of

individuals. Yet, despite their philosophical and subjective nature, goals are also objective and compelling.

For example, when the provision of individually guided education becomes a stated, articulated, and accepted goal of the state education system and the schools within that system, then a basis exists for objective analysis of the problems involved in reaching that goal, for development of specific programs toward its accomplishment, for the design of the evaluative instruments that can be used to determine whether or not that goal has been reached, and for the marshaling of fiscal and personnel resources sufficient to get the job done. Without the stated goal, the program flounders.

Goals are not only difficult to state; they are difficult to tie down in terms of responsibility for their achievement. As indicated earlier, goals derive in part from identified state needs in education, but the educational goals of the state are not the same as the goals of the state education agency, the goals of the individual school districts, the goals of the teacher, the goals of the learners or the goals that parents have for their children.

Perhaps the easiest way to sort out the levels of responsibility is to suggest that development of educational goals essentially starts from *what is desired for* the children and youth of the state; then moves into *what is expected from* the school system; and then become articulated and clarified in terms of *what is required of* the state education agency. Moving from the needs of children and youth, through the practices and programs of the school system, to the broader yet specific concerns of the state education agency, the goals retain their roots in the most important educational activity of all: the actual learning activities of children and youth in school. But they become sharpened and clarified as we attempt to determine how the schools can reasonably achieve the goals stated in terms of the needs of children and youth, and then how the state education agency can help the schools in accomplishing these fundamental objectives.

Goals become particularly useful when they are stated in terms of *what is to be accomplished* or *what is to be done,* rather than in terms of broadly desirable social ends. It has become increasingly common practice within state education agencies to phrase goals in performance or behavioral terms, so that it becomes possible to say specifically what is to be accomplished though a specified method, with named resources, within specific time constraints, and how that accomplishment will be measured. For unless goals make some kind of measurable difference in behavior, they have little determinable educational significance.

Needs Assessment

If educational goals, then, are to lead us toward activities and programs *which make a difference,* we must determine what differences in behaving or learning are deemed necessary. How do we find out? Demanded is some form of "needs assessment" –a requirement that is now being mandated not only by many of the federal programs, but equally by the practices of the individual state. Unless we know what is needed, we have no way of telling what we ought to be doing.

The needs statements are quite commonly derived from analysis of the goals and aspirations of the people of the state. Such "needs" are essentially subjective, not objective; as indicated above, they ary more likely preferences, desires, wants, or vague aspirations. They are not absolute ends of education, but expressions of what we believe to be highly desirable or fundamental or essential. For example, the "need" which may be identified in a needs assessment for early childhood education is a need only because we want certain things for our children and have certain aspirations for our society. This judgment may not be based on any absolute requirement in the nature of things or because some form of school-sponsored programs of education for children at an early

age is inherently demanded: Rather, the needs identified in a needs assessment are the formulation of a reasonable consensus about the desirable life in the state and the country and hence what we want our educational systems to try to accomplish toward this generally desired end.

It can be readily seen that needs assessments must be made in terms not only of the present, but of the future. Obviously, we have no way of predicting with any real certainty what the future society is going to be like, or what its educational needs will be. But since education is always future oriented, *in the sense that it is now educating children and youth to live in a world that does not yet exist,* it is not possible to escape the responsibility for taking the best data, the most discernible trends, and the most likely predictions as a basis for building effective educational systems and programs.

On a shorter scale than the near or far distant future, however, it is possible to do some relatively effective forecasting in setting up alternative means of reaching educational goals. For example, if an educational goal involves teaching a certain stated percentage of sixth graders to read at a certain level of proficiency at a specified time and with given inputs of money, teacher effort, and student expenditure of time, it is quite possible – *even necessary* – to design a number of different programs reasonably calculated to reach this end. Then analysis of the probable consequence of each of these techniques or strategies in terms of cost/benefit ratios, probable results, and measurable efficiency is futher possible. Because we cannot know the results for sure, we must always deal with the *presumed* consequences of any educational program. This technique of consequential analysis – analyzing the probable consequences of a given mode of action – is not yet perfected, but we can have real hope more refined methods will be developed.

In whatever manner the consequential analysis may be undertaken, and whatever the level of sophistication which may be employed, two requirements exist. Some standard against which to judge a given projected result must be formulated. *Without criteria, no analysis is possible.* The second essential is that the choices be made on some sort of rational basis, not just chosen willfully, or on the basis of individual preference or prejudice. Rather, the choices must be as coldly analytical as possible, even though we are dealing with end results – the future of children and of society – that are far from cold or intellectual or academic in their significance.

PRIORITIES

Whatever goals are selected, and however precisely we try to identify the most efficient and effective ways in which they can be reached, it is obvious that not all goals can be reached at once. Some things have to be done first, some later. Priorities must be established. Unfortunately, although we can recognize the necessity of establishing priorities for activity within a state education agency, we have no absolutely precise way to order these priorities. Priorities are matters of judgment, but the judgment can be increased in its precision by recognizing a number of kinds of priorities.

We usually think of priorities simply in terms of what must be done first, that is, chronological priorities. These are statements of the sequence in which we will attempt to accomplish educational goals. But this is only one type of priority. We can also state fiscal priorities, e.g., what can we afford to do now with the limited resources we have? As a practical consideration we must recognize what political priorities, e.g., what is feasible of accomplishment either at the state or local level in education, given the current status of popular support for or opposition to a given education issue.

Additional kinds of priorities may be suggested. Some activities should be undertaken by a state education agency because of their potential breadth of influence – they may simply be so broad in scope that they take precedence over other activities. Other

programs may be given priority status because they have a long range impact. What they accomplish may not be very important in the ensuing months or weeks, but over the years can be calculated to make a real difference in education. Some priorities, perhaps almost selfishly, are chosen because of visibility. These become immediately obvious to the supporting public and in part exist for this purpose. What it accomplishes may not be – in some longer range judgment – as intrinsically important as something else, but it is getting the job done. Perhaps this suggests that many of the priorities set by a state education agency must be in terms of their leverage. The program or activity allows accomplishment of other highly desired goals?

Thus, each activity and program deserves its place in the order of state education priorities, not alone because of its immediate perceived importance but also because of its potential influence, its long range impact, its visibility, or the leverage it may provide.

Ultimately, goals (both general and specific) and priorities of various sorts must be translated into active, actual state education agency programs. If the state department of education has accepted as its major goal that of leadership, as we may believe most modern agencies have done, it must first *serve* to establish its credibility as a leader and to demonstrate its capability to lead.

III. Leadership Through Service

What does a well-functioning state education agency do for its clients, for the state, for the schools, for the students, for the teachers, for the parents and taxpayers? The answer to this seemingly simple question demonstrates as nothing else whether or not a state education agency is worthy of the name. The importance and complexity of the answers that may be given, however, require brief elaboration.

Mandated Functions

Although state education agencies strive mightily to get away from the old authoritarian, bureaucratic functions of inspection, supervision, and the like, it would oversimplify the problem to suggest that the agencies simply give up all these historical functions. As a creature of the constitution or the legislature, the state department of education must do some things that are quite appropriately and wisely mandated.

They must interpret, and often enforce, appropriate state laws devised for the protection of the health, welfare, and educational advancement of children. They must be equally diligent in protecting the state's legitimate interests in the fair and equitable distribution of tax funds, and guard zealously and jealously against any misappropriation or unwise use of these funds. They must see to it that minimal educational standards are met, – *and hopefully exceeded* – so that no child is denied an equal opportunity for education and no societal concern is slighted or overlooked. They must accredit schools, in one way or another, so some reasonable guarantee can be made that no school exists which does not provide a reasonably adequate educational program. Typically, the state education agency is charged with the certification of teachers, perhaps on a cooperative basis with other groups, institutions, and agencies. Almost every state mandated responsibility to its state education agency to secure appropriate data regarding the progress of education, to keep some census of school-age children, and to perform some sort of assessment or evaluation of the educational program in detail or as a whole.

All of these, viewed in one light, can be seen as essentially supervisory and housekeeping functions, but this fact should not blind us to the importance of this basic mandated work of the state agencies. Fortunately, just because these tasks are required does not mean they need to be done in the same old way. For example, accreditation can be through contractual arrangements which seeks to help districts set up their own

educational ideals, goals, and standards, and to strive for their accomplishment individually, rather than by the imposition of a set of rigid and often inapplicable conditions to be met in detail by each school district. Teacher certification need not be credit-counting, but can move into a collegial and collaborative arrangement for determining the initial certification and re-certification of teachers through a tripartite arrangement now being developed in many states in the competency-based, performance-oriented teacher certification programs. However these things are done, they are tasks that must be performed diligently and intelligently as part of the basic service of the state department of education.

Delivery of Specific Services

Many or all of the mandated functions suggested in the previous paragraph could be thought of as services delivered to the client schools, the local education agencies, but there are other specific services that are still within the province of the modern state education agency. We say "still" within the province of the agency's work because there has developed a very strong trend away from the performance of direct services to local schools. In many ways, this is a desirable move, but specific services still need to be offered, and delivery systems for these services still need to be maintained.

It is quite appropriate for a state education agency to take the position that it is going to quit attempting to serve every possible need identified at the local agency level. No longer can the state department of education afford to send roving (or more often, galloping) consultants around to help every district or school or teacher in the state improve its program in reading, art, health education, and other specialized fields. It is not feasible, with limited resources, to direct energy toward putting out every brushfire that comes up in school-community relations, or to respond with direct assistance to every plea for assistance in conducting a school building survey, or to lead each small-school superintendent by the hand in filling out every blank on the required state budget form. Such activities both dissipate the energy of the department and defeat its major leadership purposes.

Therefore, it can be maintained that the specific services delivered to local school districts should be sharply limited and even curtailed. On the other hand if the education agency wants to lead the individual districts toward better educational programs, it often must use these pleas for help, these cries for assistance, as a starting place *a point of entry or leverage.* That is, if a school district identifies a specific problem in the teaching of mathematics, and calls on a state education agency for assistance in solving this problem, the appropriate response might well be to give limited assistance on the identified problem but to use this occasion as the way of alerting the district to its own need for better curriculum organization, changes in organizational structure, or improvement in inservice education of teachers. Thus, responding to this specific request is not so much to help solve the identified problem, but to help the district to see that this problem is simply a facet of other more important issues which need to be assessed and more pervasive problems which need to be attacked. Thus, the state education agency can at once render limited specific service but also use the opportunity to help the district toward self-assessment of its needs, toward the kind of long-range planning it should be doing, and toward the identification and adaptation of innovative instructional methods and curriculum patterns that would improve the entire school operation.

Service Packages

It might be appropriately suggested, therefore, that the essential service which state education agencies can render to local school systems, in order that the agency leadership function may best be established and most visibly maintained, would be the provision

of *packages of services* rather than individual help on discrete and unrelated items. Participation in the formulation of district designed and district oriented activites in some areas mentioned below may well be the chief work of the contemporary state education agency.

Planning

Preeminent among all of the needs of local educational systems today is that for better long-range, comprehensive, educational planning. Planning is neither an abstract intellectual exercise nor the devising of a single master plan which dominates and stultifies individual creative efforts. Planning is simply the common-sense yet technical utilization of procedure for (1) setting forth specific educational goals based on well-defined needs; (2) devising programs that are calculated to satisfy these needs and achieve these goals in the most effective manner; and (3) providing for appropriate evaluation of how well the goals have in actuality been achieved. Educational planning always has an *organizational* component – there must be provided money, manpower, and sufficient data so that the planning is an organized and well-supported activity of priority importance. Planning also has a *technical* basis – the planner needs to know how to make needs assessments, how to develop program alternatives, how to judge these alternatives through a multiplicity of evaluative devices. Planning also has its *human* components – no effective planning is likely unless those who plan together for the accomplishment of educational goals are skilled in ways of getting people to work together collaboratively and cooperatively without losing their individual creativity or their personal commitments.

Educational planning is not a single monolithic model or scheme which can be applied completely and indiscriminately in all stituations. Various types of planning are involved.

Much educational planning today is of the "discrepancy planning" type – that is, needs and goals are identified; the present status of their accomplishment is assessed; and the plan becomes essentially a matter of devising programs, techniques, and strategies to remedy the discrepancies existing among the goals and identified needs and the present accomplishments. This is an important and perhaps the most common sort of planning, but there are other types of planning that cannot be ignored.

One is *contingency planning,* in which an effort is made to set forth alternative programs in terms of what may or is most likely to occur – that is, to identify contingencies that cannot be absolutely foreseen, but to make provisions for those things that might most likely happen. The planner must therefore devise his plans to take into account a variety of kinds of situations that may exist over the period of time for which planning is being done.

A final type of planning is that which simply sets out to accomplish something considered highly essential, regardless of present discrepancies or future contingencies – "advocacy planning." In this sort of planning, the attempt is made to structure the educational system in such a way that certain accomplishments are achieved simply because they are considered to be of fundamental and ultimate importance.

Quite appropriately, the state education agency needs to develop a statewide planning framework and planning capability, but it would be most inappropriate for the agency to attempt to do the detailed planning for each individual district. The agency can, however, package the explanation of and training in planning techniques in such a way that each district can develop its own mode of planning and its own individual district plan.

Evaluation

Evaluation and assessment devices and techniques constitute another service package appropriate for state education agency delivery to its clients. Once again, although

statewide assessment programs can often do an excellent job in surveying and identifying general points of weakness or strength in the state educational system, and should be encouraged to do so, the evaluative procedures that will have the most effect on the learning of children are those which are designed and utilized at the local level. There is so much usable technical knowledge of efficient evaluation procedures, and so many appropriate devices that could be adopted or adapted by the local district, that no local education agency ought to have to start from scratch. The state education agency can at once continue to promote (or if they are now behind, start at once to establish) the formulation and operation of statewide assessment systems, but at the same time offer techniques, devices, and training for local evaluation and assessment programs.

School Improvement Programs

Self-improvement of educational programs by local districts is far moer likely to be accepted and effective than are improvement programs that are mandated by the state. School improvement programs, by whatever name they may be designated, and whatever specific techniques they may embrace, are most effective when local districts, using materials and training provided by the state education agency, set out to put their own house in order and to work out those improvements which are found to be locally most appropriate. As an example, if a statewide goal is the more complete and effective individualization of instruction, encouraging and helping local school districts to set up the kind of individually guided education programs or approaches to individually prescribed instruction which can be worked out, adapted, and put into use in the local district is a far more effective use of state education agency resources than would be the sending out of the individual consultants to work with individual teachers on specific instructional or curricular problems.

Inservice Training

Staff development is another important service package which state education agencies can offer to the local school districts. Since the needs, the development status, and the particular local circumstances will be different for different districts, it would be grossly arrogant of the state education agency to devise a single staff development or inservice education program and insist that every local district use it. Enough appropriate and effective techniques, strategies, and materials can be put together for staff development use at the local level, however, that any state agency that failed to make this service available would be seriously delinquent in its responsibilities.

Research and Development

Research and development activities have quite traditionally be a major part of the work of a forward-looking state education agency. There is good reason to believe, however, that unless such activities are primarily oriented towards the development of service packages for the client school districts, it would be better to turn over to some other agency much of the research and development work. Abstract "R & D" work is often professionally satisfying to members of state education agency staffs, and results in the garnering of a certain amount of professional prestige for the entire agency, but today other agencies that are more appropriately staffed and funded to do most of this work. The colleges and universities which have been moved from intellectual abstraction and theoretical concern into the actual field-oriented work that characterizes many of these institutions today, the regional educational laboratories, and the formal Research and Development Centers of the U.S. Office of Education can all perhaps do a more effective and appropriate job of conducting both theoretical and much applied research than can many state education agencies. But the SEA can still provide

guidance and assistance to local districts in the kind of R & D work that should be done and needs to be done at the local level. That is, considered as a service to local districts, such activities are extremely important to state departments of education; but considered as a major departmental activity, they may very well take fairly low precedence.

Emerging Social Concerns

There are other emerging areas of direct service to local districts that allow the state education agency to develop its leadership capabilities and posture through specific service activities. The emerging areas of social concern often need identification at the statewide level before local districts really are aware of the problem. For example, the problems of the disadvantaged should have been identified and work begun on them long before many local districts were aware that these problems existed. The same is true of other social cirses – For example, drug usage and environmental education, these simply did not evoke much attention in the day-by-day operation of many smaller local school districts. The problems of those children disadvantaged by urban crowdedness and rural isolation are of such crisis proportions that the state education agency does need to take direct action toward their solution. Innovative areas, such as the open school (or even the "school without walls" or the "non-school") are also ones in which state leadership may be needed. In every one of these cases, however, the function of the state agency may well be primarily that of developing materials and techniques which local education agencies can work into their own planning, evaluating, self-improvement, and staff development programs. Again, the focus is on state leadership in the activity rather than on the state's conducting the activity and then disseminating it to or mandating it for use in the local school districts.

Internal Organization

To perform all of the tasks metnioned in the paragraphs above, to render these services in order to demonstrate the kind of leadership that a state education agency should ideally exercise, the SEA must organize itself internally to get these jobs done. Its external services will be no better than its internal organization

Improved Management Practices

Each state education agency, regardless of its present stage of development, needs to use specific techniques now available to improve its own internal management and decision-making functions. Management by objectives can be used as a technique to sharpen up the statement of departmental objectives in performance terms, rather than in global concepts, with a specificity that will allow the agency then to perform its own internal management functions and to assess its effectiveness in so doing directly in terms of statements of program objective or intent. Management by objectives is no panacea, because it is quite possible simple to choose those objectives which are easily quantifiable and easily manageable, leaving other more important things undone. But management by objectives, coupled with good management information and data systems, and appropriate application of PPBS concepts, can vastly improve internal management and decision-making. Internal improvement, of course, is of no merit unless it leads to improvement of the services – and hence the leadership – that the state agency can offer to the state school systems.

Staff Development and Utilization

More effective development and utilization of staff has been identified as one of the service needs of most local education agencies. The same need applies to the state education agency as well. Otherwise, the blind will be leading the blind.

It is perhaps a fair generalization to say that most state departments of education are woefully inadequate in staff development and staff utilization. Reasonable and believable excuses can be made by the state education agency for the inadequate quality of its staff – difficulty of recruitment and retention under restrictive legislation and civil service regulations, low salary scales, the low regard in which department personnel are often held by public school personnel, and the like – but excuses and rationalizations will not suffice. State education personnel does need improving in nearly every state.

Much can be done within present limitations. For example, the same kind of training packages that are developed to help local district personnel increase their skill in planning, in evaluating, and in management and decision-making can be utilized internally with state education agency personnel. Redeployment (perhaps necessitating retraining) of personnel from itinerant consultant functions to state level planning and training functions can make those already on the staff more effective servants of the new goals of leadership emerging in state education agencies. Essentially, this means reorganization of the department itself so there are more staff positions and fewer line positions – line positions being increasingly less important as the regulatory and supervisory activities of the department are minimized in favor of leadership and service functions.

Varied staffing patterns quite different from those traditionally found in the education agencies can be effectively experimented with. For example, task forces, problem-clustered groups, and ad hoc committees might well become the basic unit of organization, rather than the traditional pyradmidal line-and-staff pattern. Extensive use of short-term committees of personnel quite outside the agency – including teachers, parents, and students – could be more freely utilized.

Especially important might be the use of limited term personnel, both interns and senior staff associates, borrowed from other educational agencies and brought in for the accomplishment of specific tasks. The confusion and lack of continuity that this would entail could quite possible be more than offset by the freshness of viewpoint and the infusion of enthusiasm that would come from short-term personnel assignments.

Agency Relationships

One of the most important changes needed within the state department of education internally is the development of more effective working relationships with other state government agencies and other educational institutions. The frequent charge that state education agencies have so prized their autonomy and political purity that they have remained aloof from the rest of state government is not without foundation. The state education agency is an intimate part of state government – one requiring perhaps special constitutional or legislative provisions to assure that it does not become the pawn of partisan politics, but one nevertheless that requires for its own well-being a close operating relationship with other state agencies. Aloofness from partisan politics is highly desirable, but aloofness from the political system is impossible.

If we can apply even the elements of the currently popular *systems approach* to the problems of education, we can readily envision the state education agency as a system in close interaction with other systems and sub-systems; the wholeness of the entire enterprise of governmental concern for human betterment requires the state education agency to consider itself part of a larger system. Very practically, the state education agency has no visible means of support other than tax sources, always scarce tax sources which must be shared with other equally demanding and equally defensible governmental activities. There is every reason, then, to suggest that the state education agency would not relinquish its independence or autonomy through more effective cooperation with other state agencies; nor would the state education agency have anything to lose – but much to gain – by aligning itself more closely with what have often seemed to be

competing education enterprises: higher education, community college education, and vocational-technical education. Unless these relationships can be made more productive, the state education agency's proud independence will wither into an unproductive isolation from the rest of society.

By the same token, state education agency relationships to local and federal education authorities are never going to be uniformly pleasant or easy, but there is absolutely nothing to be gained by the aloofness or the competition that sets these agencies, all involved in the federalist system of shared power and shared responsibility, at each other's throats.

IV. Forging Ahead: From Leadership to Statesmanship

There is good reason to believe that many state education agencies are moving – at varying rates of speed – from the older regulatory and supervisory concerns into new roles of service and leadership. Is it possible that these agencies can do even better – content not simply to be in front, in a leadership position, not just out *on* the frontiers of education *but in a position to help define and shape those frontiers?* Can state education agencies move from leadership to statesmanship in education?

The answer to that question is neither clear nor easy. There are some reasons, however, to believe that the directions toward educational statesmanship are becoming both better defined and more possible of accomplishment.

The growing commitment to change is one indication of this forward movement among state education agencies. Changing others has always been a favorite pastime of state departments of education; it has been quite easy to see what local districts ought to be doing and to try to exhort, cajole, or threaten them into doing it. But changing one's self is more difficult. It is relatively easy to discern and define changes taking place in society and in education, but becoming effective and dedicated agents to help bring about desirable and desired changes is much more difficult.

State education agencies that have a commitment to change – changing themselves as well as changing others – have gone a long way down the road to the statesmanlike position they should assume in the educational enterprise. If the agency is organized, staffed, and updated so that the process of change is built in – not accidental or incidental – then half the battle has been won.

This implies total departmental commitment to change at all levels. Not much is gained if only some persons at some operating levels are willing to change and to precipitate change, while others drag their feet. If the governing board, the State Board of Education, is committed to change but the departmental leadership and staff still want to do things in the same old comfortable ways, nothing much can be accomplished. If the department and staff want to change and the Board still sees its own function as regulatory, supervisory, and routine, staff initiative can most easily be thwarted. Everybody has to get into the act.

Perspectives must be enlarged. State education agencies have been so accustomed to focusing in more and more closely on specific problems, because of the urgency of their needed solution and the limited resources available for these tasks, that the larger view has sometimes been lost. Perhaps we need to replace the popular mini-view and micro-view with a more inclusive macro-view. As an example, in the application of Program-Planning-Budgeting Systems, it is possible to cut up our inputs and outputs into such small pieces that we "disaggregate" our data to the point where they are virtually meaningless. A nationally recognized specialist in the PPBS field recently chided educators for their tendency, in embracing a new technique, to overdo a good thing. The speaker pointed particularly to the temptation to disaggregate data down to too fine a

point, cautioning: "Don't be afraid of gross measures if that's all you really need." It could well be suggested that we do need to get away from the overly detailed concern with little problems and look again at the macro-view of the world of society and of education.

But can this be done, you ask, when the pressure for accountability is upon all of us – state education agencies most emphatically included? It depends, really, on what we mean by accountability. If we mean that we are going to measure everything with a maximum of precision so that we can be absolutely sure – and guarantee – that every dollar spent produces a measurable amount of observable educational gain, perhaps we'd better stick to the details. But if we look on accountability as a concept and a commitment, not a threat or a guarantee, a different view emerges. In actuality, the basic elements of accountability are simple: establish goals; select alternative mechanisms for reaching these goals; carry out specific actions and programs; and measure the results of these with as much precision as possible. We can use every management technique available – and should – to assure that the goals are well stated and precisely identified, that the mechanisms and techniques or strategies are the best we can develop, that the actions and programs we undertake are carefully chosen from among the available alternatives, that the measurements we use are precise and objective. We should use assessment instruments, program planning and budgeting systems, management by objectives, and technically adequate comprehensive long-range planning.

These are the elements of accountability – or at least the way to put the elements into operating fashion. Even when this is done, we cannot guarantee anybody anything. We can simply give the best humanly possible assurance that we have made a commitment to being accountable, that we have done everything possible to carry out that commitment, and that we have reported candidly and communicated clearly our findings. It might even be suggested that the candor of our reporting of successes and failures in education and the clarity with which we can communicate this to our various publics is far more integral to the concept of accountability than is any assessment or evaluation technique.

Accepting accountability as a concept and a commitment could, conceivably, make us not only narrow in our view but over-cautious. We may be afraid to try the new, to make judgments, to set priorities – because if we are being held accountable, how can we be sure that things will come off the way we intended? Wouldn't it be better to play it safe?

If state education agencies are just going to be good stewards of public money, perform the necessary services, and maybe get caught inadvertently out in a leadership position now and then, then it is best to play it safe. But because there is a risk in leadership and a very great risk in statesmanship, some choices – even guesses – have to be made. How does one decide which of several programs ought to have primacy in his goals or priority in his operations? If there is any answer, the answer is that he makes judgments. He uses the economist's concept of "opportunity costs" in judging among program priorities – not just what does the program cost, or what are its benefits, but what are the costs of the opportunities foregone when he chooses one program and eliminates another?

We use the inevitable technique of taking a second-best option, often, because the best is simply not accomplishable at this time. We look at all the options and then, rather than selecting one or another, we take parts of them and combine them into programs that we believe will work –*combinable options* are the basis for almost everything we do in every judgment we make.

These are just some of the pitfalls of the leadership position if the state education agency moves forward toward a desirable goal of educational statesmanship. If we are willing to take these risks, to risk these pitfalls, does the job become easier? The answer is a regretful "no", because the problems are going to become more difficult and the issues

ones about which we have not yet dreamed. Just when we think we have a new foundation program all buttoned up, along comes *Serrano vs. Priest.* Just when we think we have given full consideration to the rights of students, along comes *Tinker vs. DesMoines.* Just when we think we have organized school districts to insure fair representation, another interpretation of *Baker vs. Carr* raises questions. Just when we think that we have finally achieved delightful informality and openness in the classroom, someone suggests the open school; then someone else a school without walls, and then someone else the *non-school.* The problems are not over, nor are they any easier.

But the state education agency which perseveres in its commitment to change, which is willing to skip some of the details and take the broad view of educational problems, which is willing to accept the commitment and responsibility of accountability, and which actively seeks problems rather than seeking to avoid them, has by far the best chance of moving from its historic position of bureaucratic authoritarianism, through its present emerging stance of leadership, into its ultimate goal of educational statemanship.

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ALTERNATIVES FOR EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE AT STATE LEVELS

D. Gene Watson

Nearly all our state education systems were developed and refined during times when the word politics conjured up visions of the self-seeking craftily maneuvering to receive special benefits. To improve the effectiveness of governance systems, many political scientists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century pressed for governmental reform espousing models for civic and social governance which were apolitical in nature. As part of this reform, lay boards or councils in many sectors were selected on a non-partisan basis and in turn appointed professionally educated administrators to manage the systems. Perhaps the leader of these systems which most widely adapted these reform models was education.

Much of the controversy about the propriety of political activity in the educational arena has evolved from this *muckraker* view which regards politics and politicians as evil. More recently educators and political scientists alike have presented more favorable reactions to political activity in education. Iannaccone thus defined politics as, . . . *that segment of social life involving the activities and relationships of individuals, groups and associations resulting in or intended to result in decisions by any governmental policy making body.* (9)

In a similar discussion, Bailey defined politics as, ... *the fashioning of coalitions of influence in an attempt to determine what values will be authoritatively implemented by government.*[6] Thus it can be said that whenever educational leaders exert influence in an effort to have their position become public policy they have then abandoned the apolitical stance. Further, as suggested by Nunnery and Kimbrough, even attempting to influence public opinion for the support of education is a political activity.(16)

Despite the necessity for political action, state and local school systems have continued to seek closure and become separated more distinctly from the political world. In attempting to trace the rationality of such action, Nunnery and Kimbrough detail the relationship between public administration theory, unique elements in educational governance and the earlier mentioned view of politics as evil. They conclude that this mix of stimuli has produced schizophrenic behavior among many professional educators, attempting to influence policy on the one hand and to scorn political activity on the other.

The apolitical approach must be regarded as unreal. School systems are elements of the larger political-cultural system of the state. Progress in one element requires progress or change in related elements. Educators who seek change must become politicized. *Leaders for change in the education must be good enough politicians to get other good politicians committed to educational improvement.*(11)

Under the present system, this requires political strength at several levels. Within education, political action for improvement must be marshalled at local intermediate and state levels. Various supportive systems outside the boundaries of education itself must be influenced in the desired direction. At the state level in particular, aggressive political leadership must be concerned with the totality of the education system within the state and the potential for improvement through creative exchanges. To better understand this assumption, it is helpful to explore a *systems* vantage point for education.

A Structural-Functional Model for Organizations

Education, in our country, is composed of thousands of remarkably similar formal organizations known as school districts. Each of these organizations operate as entities which receive support and materials from the social community and produce in return a product which is sought by the same society. Although size may differ drastically, each of these school *systems* has a similar structure and function. In addition, similarities in roles, norms and value tend to bring about comparable cohesive qualities.

If we look at other specific formal organizations, we can often recognize structural division. We see the factory located apart from the offices of the same corporation. We see separate facilities for retail clerks and the accountants. We see academic buildings as opposed to administration buildings on college campuses. All these examples serve to illustrate the seeming internal polarization of what Parson's calls *the technical and institutional sub-systems of an organization.*(18) If we look more rigorously at the examples however, we will find that a third sub-system (Parson's calls it the *managerial system)* exists within these outwardly dichotomous elements. Hence we might conceive of an organization as a system of interactions coordinated through a structural division permitting: a technical system devoted to the achievement of the explicit goals of the formal organization, an institutional system for maintaining the existence of the formal organization, and a managerial system for coordinating the activities and establishing the authority hierarchy.

Likert's overlapping group model adds an important idea to the concept presented (see Figures 1).(14) The overlapping nature of the structures permits us to posit five areas of functions shared by the structures in a specified manner and thus to conceive of organizations as normally composed of the five basic sub-systems: productive, integrative, executive, articulative and supportive.

Looking again at the model, we can describe the three overlapping structures as: one structure designed to produce a given product as demanded by society but modified by the human constraints of its personnel while another structure maintains the existence of the organization by obtaining support from the society by either adapting the organization to the society or by manipulating elements within the society. The third structure attempts to share some of these responsibilities while tieing the first two structures together through the control of the authority hierarchy.

The State Education Agency as a Managerial Link

To comprehend more readily how the model is useful in observing a state system for education, think of the technical system as largely comprised of the multitude of local

FIGURE I

A STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL MODEL FOR ORGANIZATIONS

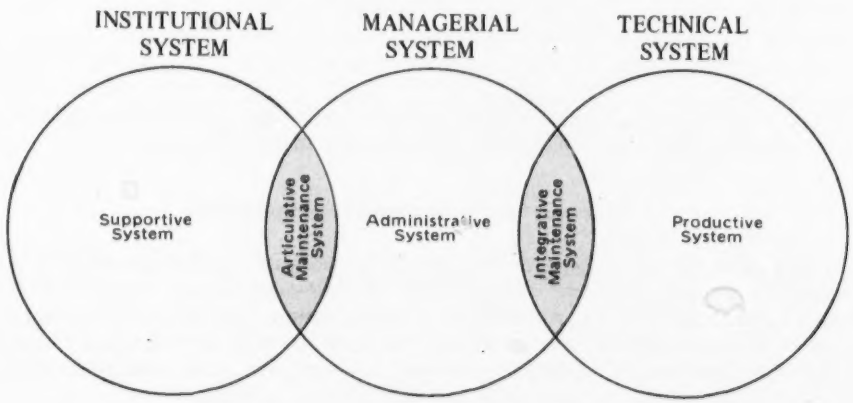
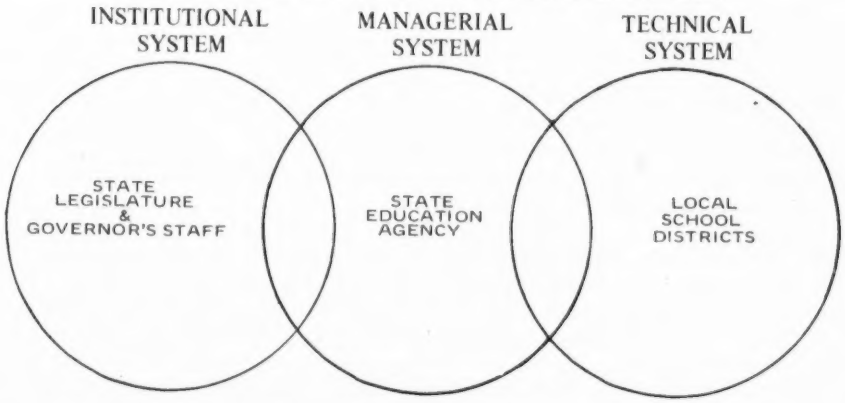


FIGURE II

THE STATE EDUCATION AGENCY AS A MANAGERIAL LINK



districts in a state. These local districts are the machinery through which our young people are processed to a state of readiness for society which we call *educated* (see Figure II). At the other end of the model we may consider the institutional system to be comprised largely of those individuals and organizations with whom the people of the state have vested supportive and guiding powers. In most states, the institutional system includes as its prime components a state board of education, a state legislature and various members of the executive staff.

The connecting link between these two systems is the state department of education. It is in this role as a managerial system articulating the institutional and technical aspects of education that the state department of education has its greatest potential for leadership. With its central position, the state department has the power both to influence and to implement new policy. It does not take a very detailed analysis of state systems of education to reveal the many alternative strategies available for positive influences to be exerted by the state department. Some of these will be alluded to in the following section.

The State Systems of Education

Although it is argued that every state consitution should include articles dealing with executive legislative and judicial powers as well as a bill of rights, there is less agreement concerning the desirability of speciying powers and limitations on a state function such as education. Indeed, Alexander reports, *The Model State Consitution prepared by the National Municipal League has an education articule consisting of a single sentence but admits it is not really necessary.*(1) However, 38 of the 50 states do have articles dealing with educational matters and those who do not describe in the executive article those mechanisms for carrying out the state responsibilities for education. Thus a constitutional base is established which clearly places state government in a dominant role in education.

Leading from these constitutional bases state legislatures mandate policy and support structures for education. As representatives of the people, legislatures often determine support levels, regulatory criteria, limitations and requirements of practice and organizational patterns. The executive branch influences education particularly in the allocation of funds and in its own influence on the legislature.

In the past, most state legislative and executive branches provided for the organization, administration and support of school districts, colleges and universities. Hansen in discussing this short-coming states,

> *Practically all states have authorized or required local effort to support elementary and secondary schools. Most, however, have imposed rigid limits of one kind or another on the responsibility that could be assumed by the people in any school district to provide financial support for education, and indirectly in some cases, on the programs and procedures. Obviously, under these conditions, it has been much easier for many school systems to continue with only minor modifications in existing provisions and programs than to make the improvements that are essential to meet the needs of a rapidly changing society.*(7)

During this same evolutionary process, all states developed a state education agency which grew out of the simple accounting and reporting duties that had traditionally been assigned some state official. Rapidly increasing population and new concerns as to what constituted an education created pressures for an executive agency with responsibility for supervision, creation of minimum standards, operating regulations and enforcement of state education statutes.

In all states but two, the state education agency consists of a board, a chief state school officer, and a professional staff.

The State Board

Numerous reasons exist for asking a lay board to serve in state education systems. Beach and Will have argued that a state board: serves as a safeguard against the abuse of discretionary power; arrives at wiser and sounder decisions than an individual; avoids the entrance of partisan politics; provides a wider base for representation of the people; and assures greater continuity of program.(3) Nyquist repeats some of the above rationale and contributes what may well become a generally accepted platitude, *Education is too important to be left solely to educators.*(11)

The rationale used at the time a specific state board was created may have been to some extent responsible for the manner of appointment. In 31 states at least a majority of the members of state boards are appointed by the governor and that in 12 other states they are elected by popular vote. The advantages and disadvantages of each form of appointment are detailed by Hansen and these should serve as an appropriate reference for those reading this monograph.(7)

However, some question the capability of lay boards at the state level to be effective influences on educational policies. Some contend that the removal of the board from partisan political activity results in a dearth of sustained opposition to the decisions of elected officials. Consequently, long periods of stability under the domination of education officials are interrupted by shorter periods of abrupt change. These periods of change only develop when social concerns are strong enough to force board members to pierce the existing education influence structure.(12)

Further, the isolation from politics of the board, helps to maintain a climate normally associated with closed systems. In such a climate, board members, elected officials and professional educators become oblivious to demands from society for new policy inputs. It is this writer's opinion that the apolitical role is unreal, impossible to maintain and ineffective in operation. In rising *above* politics the state board member becomes aloof to the voices of the society they serve.

In speaking questioningly of state board of education, Sroufe pointed out an interesting, *. . .contrast between their clear legal foundation and their impressive mandate to determine educational policy on the one hand, and their peculiarly ill-defined and*

tenuous role in the state policy system on the other. (20) The extent to which changes have occurred since Sroufe's research indicates a desire on the part of state board to equivocate his conclusions. Changes in selection procedure, greater efforts toward professionalism and the influence of organizations like the National Association of State Board of Education (NASBE) and the Education Commission of the States (ECS) have all produced more effective state boards.

Nevertheless, it is incumbent upon all who would strengthen education to listen to the critics. Greater effectiveness on the part of state board is dependent upon the development of structures and processes for assessing the public's wants and needs. Knowing the wants and needs, state board must then place greater emphasis on the development of aggressive strategies for advocating policies to meet these demands.

It is precisely in relation to such recommendations that the model depicting the state education agency as a managerial link becomes useful. The state board of education in seizing its representation role becomes a part of the state education agency's articulative maintenance function. Serving as both a contact with and an influence upon the legislative and executive branches of state government becomes possible only when the members authoritatively represent the people of the state. Likewise, policy determination for state agencies will follow the will of the people only to the extent that policy inputs are assessed and aggressively advocated by true representatives of the society. Further, the partisan nature of the executive and legislative branches demands the awareness and capability for utilization of party influence. Partisan participation not antipathy seems to be a requirement for effective government.

In a majority of our states, the governor appoints at least a majority of the members of the state board of education. Because of his status, the governor should be able to obtain the services of highly competent people whose actions should be respected by the electorate. Additionally, appointment by the governor should result in his willingness to support the board's proposals. However, the state is then dependent upon the election of governors who feel strongly enough about education to responsibly select citizens whose first concerns are for education.

Popular elections for state boards of education should assure representation of the people's will and control of education by the people. In actual fact, some individuals only use the board for partisan or personal interests while others tend to represent vested interests whose goals may not be congruent with education's goals. One may even speculate as to what could possibly induce a person to spend the fiscal and energy resources necessary for a statewide campaign to gain a seat on a non-paying board with an overload of responsibility.

Election of state board members by the legislature has similar advantages to governor appointment as a linkage to one of the supportive arms of state government. A variation of this plan where the governor or the legislature selects state board members from a list of nominees presented by a blue ribbon committee also seems to enjoy a linkage to the appointing branch of government. This latter method may assure that highly competent board candidates are considered but there is often the new concerns as to the makeup and representativeness of the nominative committee. However, in each of the selection forms the opportunity for using partisan influence is available and only the historians will be able to judge the more effective procedures.

An example of the effectiveness of partisan involvement is the Illinois School Problems Commission. One of two states operating without a state board of education, Illinois has established a unique organization which tends to compensate for the weakness in linkage brought about by the absence of a state board of education. The Illinois School Problems Commission was created in 1957 to assess the problems pertaining to the public schools of the state. Membership on the commission is by appointment and consists of

five state Senators appointed by the President pro tempore, five members of the House of Represenatives appointed by the Speaker, five members appointed by the Governor, the Illinois Director of Finance and the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Although expressly created only to study basic school problems, the Commission has effectively influenced education policy and legislation. Its membership is perhaps the key to the weight of influence the Commission exerts in the state policy system. If empowered to carry the role of a state board of education, the membership would have the authority and capability to maintain articulative relationships with the executive and legislative branches of government and thus shape state education agency policy more effectively than occurs normatively. New constitutional requirements in Illinois require its legislature to create a state board of education. The legislature is now studying alternates and options to implement the constitution. The idea for the new state board may have evolved out of the political necessities in the state of Illinois. It obviously was perceived necessary, perhaps because of the effectiveness of the Illinois School Problems Commission.

The State Education Agency

The state systems of education deriving their existence from constitutional fiat and subject to the influence of state governance established early a managerial system for linking the local education agencies to the supportive systems of the state. Generally consisting of a chief state school officer and his clerical and professional staff, the state education agency was originally established to regulate and evaluate the local schools. However, recent trends in society along with the emerging demands for greater effectiveness and accountability have caused a significant growth in size of staffs, staff competencies and variety of responsibilities. In the largest states, an agency often employs more than a thousand people.

Until recently the organization of many state education agencies has been determined by the interpretation of traditional functions and subject to the whims of developing divisional bureaucracies. As new programs have been demanded, new units have been added to agency staffs. In many cases, lack of communications between units has resulted in duplication, isolation and ineffectiveness. Few attempts were made to relate the various system parts to create a dynamic social system. In fact, as Hansen reports, *There seems to have been a naive assumption that if each unit makes a serious attempt to meet the needs in its own limited area, education will continue to improve throughout the state.*(7)

The emerging role of state education agencies demands a more functional and interrelated organization than is provided in the pattern suggested in the preceding paragraph. Although a few notable improvements have been made, across the nation the progress has been much too slow. The recent mood of legislators and other representatives of the people would suggest that the environment will not much longer tolerate a weak, improperly organized state education agency.

Johns suggests, *Organizing education as a series of social systems in interaction provides the structure necessary to maximize the opportunity for desirable change.*(10) It would be his contention that bureaucratic structures maximize the maintenance of the *status quo*. Indeed, it is possible to conceptualize the operation of education in some states without a state education agency. Funds could be distributed through the treasurer's office, certification could be handled by a licensing bureau handling other licenses, school statistics could be compiled by a data center for the executive branch. Unless leadership and linkage functions are to be provided little need exists for a professional state education agency.

During recent years, the leadership of the Education Commission of the States and

the Council of Chief State School officers has brought about an awareness of the need for a systematic, flexible, and realistic organizational structure. Some significant improvements have occurred which suggest the possibility of state agencies organized around two basic dimension, *viz.*, an administrative system concerned primarily with ongoing responsibilities and problems, and a program dimension concerned with responding to ever-changing program demands. In discussing this approach, Hansen suggested that the program dimension might be at least partially staffed by consultants or temporary staff.(7)

The Linkage Systems

By conceiving the state education agency as a managerial linkage for widely dispersed local units, the student of state governance of education overcomes some of the tunnel-vision that has often hampered development of state education agencies. With a state board of education composed of legislators, executive appointees, and professional educators representing professional associations, a direct linkage to state policy systems is effected. Communications flow across what have become internal boundaries. Policy inputs and feedback from these linkage systems provide the state education agencies with clear information which is more easily implemented. Similarly, regulatory instruments and program inputs would flow to local units through linkage systems designed to integrate federal state and local programs. Several states have taken the lead in this regard by reorganizing the old county system of intermediate districts into larger regional service agencies with a vital role to play in terms of increased services and direct linkage to state agency.

State recognition, supervision and service activities could better be tailored to the needs of local districts by a decentralization of these functions so that regional agencies perform them in a manner most suitable for the situation involved. As an integrating force for the state, the regional agency can best link the local unit to the planning and leadership of the state education agency. Regional service agencies make possible the support of local districts efforts by the state. Indeed, local capability to implement educational change may well be a function of the leadership, inservice, consultative and regulatory efforts of the integrative links of state education agencies.

State Leadership through Managerial Linkage Systems

Articulative Maintenance System. Several modes of selection of the state board of education have a bearing on the effectiveness of the board as a linkage system. Appointment by the governor should allow access to the governor and ostensibly better support for proposals for improvement of education. However, because it can be shown that some governors do not appoint especially competent board members, this method sometimes results in a weak board controlled by the executive. In those states where state board members are elected by the people, the legitimacy of the board speaking for the people is assured. However, the advantages of popular election may be outweighed by the cost, partisanship and relatively weak place on the ballot of these positions. Election by the legislature may well place state board members in a position where they can deal effectively with the legislature if they can sidestep being obligated to those who put them there. Selection by the governor or legislature from a list of nominees advocated by a blue ribbon committee has the advantage of assuring competent board members. Less assurance can be given as to the political efficacy of a board constituted in that way. A final alternative might be a board consisting of representatives of the legislative and executive branches, additional prominent citizens and nominees of professional organizations. That board would have both the political power and the status to allow its members to fulfill the people's mandate, to sense the public need and to advocate policies

to meet those needs.

In his model state education agency of the future, Roe suggested that the state board of education be established as,

> *. . .the overall coordinating and general policy board for education in the state, with a minimum of administrative or judiciary authority but with a strong, high level advisory responsibility to the legislative and executive branches of government relative to the support and coordination of education.*(19)

The chief state school officer serves as the executive officer of the state school board and chief administrator of the state education agency. As such it seems appropriate that he be appointed by the state board. However, he may reach office by popular election or by appointment of the governor. Neither of these alternate methods necessarily decrease his effectiveness unless the appointment is a capricious one. However, appointment by the board of education of a professional education administrator is to be preferred if education leadership is to be improved.

The internal organization of the state education agency is a sole responsibility of the chief state school officer. Although considered a basic component in the executive office, his relationship to and appointment by the state board of education provides an assurance of support outside partison politics while permitting the flexibility of close and effective relationships.

Multitudinous linkage functions are performed with the continuing goal of providing effective leadership for education in the state. The state education agency must be included in the cooperative planning at the state level with other executive departments. It must continually be involved in seeking and providing education resources for solving the problems of society. The state education agency should supply temporary or permanent staff for legislative committees and make its information system available on call to legislators; it may even find it necessary to provide inservice training relative to education developments which legislators should know.

Operational activities of state education agencies such as special schools should be relegated to separate boards and then regarded in much the same way as other local education units. This would relieve state agency personnel of operations responsibility and perhaps even provide for more effective operations with the separate boards and administrators of the special facilities.

Campbell suggests that regulatory functions of state agencies could be reduced to a minimal level where data-processing decisions could be elicited.(5) Feeling this also would release personnel to carry other functions, he further suggests these personnel might be better used in improving preservice and inservice teacher education. This change in placement of personnel requires an emphasis on development of education through extensive revision of the states' activities in planning and development. As stated by McNamara, *"The SDE (state department of education) of the future must exercise a leadership role in comprehensive state-local education program planning.*(15) Not only is it necessary for the state education agency to plan for its needs and for the needs of the state system of education, but it must concern itself with changes in society and how it can meet the needs brought about by those changes.

Extensive literature is being developed in the promotion of planning and development activities of state education agencies. Much of it provides us with particularly crisp clarification of the need for planning and goes on to describe and suggest forms of planning appropos to state agencies.(8) It is only hoped that we must not wait for a new generation of administrators to implement these activities. The press for accountability, however ulcer-generating, may force us toward such a goal.

Integrative Maintenance Systems. The planning and development functions alluded to above are the first link to the public schools. Inservice, supportive, consultative services

of the state education agency may be funneled through regional service agencies where appropriate. Reorganization of intermediate and local units may of course be necessary for maximizing this aspect of state agency functioning. The linkage concept remains true as long as the managerial system (the state education agency) retains as its prime goal the strengthening and improvement of education efforts in the technical system.

The Influences for Change

As stated earlier, the bureaucratic origins of state education agencies may have tended to maximise opportunities for preserving the *status quo.* The rapidity with which man's knowledge has increased outstrips the potential for utilizing the new knowledge. In fact, in recent years, the knowledge explosion has even outstripped the capacity of most states to even be a disseminator of that new knowledge. Any education system organized for disbursing pre-digested and approved bits of stable knowledge is anachronistic. Toffler paraphrases Francis Bacan in saying, *Knowledge is change – and accelerating knowledge acquisition. . .means accelerating change.*(21) If as Hansen suggests education is to become primarily an emphasis on learning the methodology of inquiry itself, then state education agencies will have to assert leadership to bring about the change or accept the relegation of present systems to outmoded historical oddities.(6)

Similarly, the technology behind the transfer of information has so developed that conventional approaches to knowledge transfer handicap learners. In an authoritative essay on the topic, Knox suggests that education systems are lagging behind other sectors in implementing the new technologies.(21) He suggests that traditional humanities orientations, capital financing, and a type of naivete all influence the tendency to lag behind industry and other government sectors.

A third influence sure to bring about change in state education systems is the competition for fiscal resources. The tax systems supporting education are both regressive and inequitable. The threshold of intolerability seems close to each taxpayer as his needs increase. At the local level, education is one of the few taxing bodies that must seek public approval for increasing rates or selling bonds. At the state level, education expenditures are not visible enough to compete with highways and welfare. At the federal level, the spector of the tenth amendment continues to discourage general aid.

This is particularly surprising since from the economists' point of view,

> *"in. . .in terms of sheer rate of return on investment, investment in education probably brings a higher rate of return than that of any competitive industry, and when we add the intangible benefits, which are considerable, the argument that we are underinvesting in certain aspects of the system, becomes almost irresistable."*(4)

When we add to the problem of fiscal competition the recent implications of inequality brought out in the *Serrano* line of court decisions we face a potential for complete change of fiscal resource management for education. So assured are many legislatures that present fiscal plans will be held unconstitutional that task forces have been created to design new means of supporting education.

Another influence toward change in state education activities is the attitude toward change itself. In years within the memory of most of us, change was not only undesirable it was actively opposed. Schools were bastions of stability and the curricula were sacred liturgy. Some of these attitudes still remain, particularly in the rural portions of the nation. It has been largely supplanted, however, by an expectance and acceptance of change. A program now is *sold* if it is bold, new, innovative or different rather than stable, dependable, tested or firmly established. State education agencies which respond to demands with the same old approach will fail to continue to receive the support of the people.

A final influence for change in state education agencies is the recent trends toward

activism in society. People now want to be heard. Excuses of an historical nature are ignored. Militant teachers, disruptive students, demanding parents, hounding legislators, concerned citizens, overwrought taxpayers and uneasy legislators all expect their voices to be heard. Neat charts, well-designed plans, fiscal constraints, and even Macchiavellian manipulation are shunted aside. Two-way communication channels are continuously being established with more groups and individuals everyday. Education systems now have not only the privilege but the necessity to be aware of the needs of society as we no longer think of the "melting pot" society but rather the mosaic society composed of a multitude of mini-cultures with a maxi-identity for the individual.

There we have it. As managerial links between society and the sixty million people involved in education today, the state education agencies are facing tremendous pressures for change. Byron Hansford pointed to the problem in saying,

> *. . .interest, involvement and concern are not sufficient; specific provision must be made for comprehensive planning which not only recognizes the inevitability of change and the need for determining its direction, but also exposes the identifiable problems of the future and develops alternatives for their solution.* (8)

For the most part, it is up to you as members of state boards of education, you must alter the structures to bring about the needed change.

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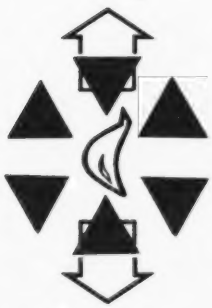

Part 2

THREE ISSUES OF CURRICULA

TEACHER CENTERS AND TEACHER RENEWAL

JAMES F. COLLINS

The Professional Renewal of Teachers

Introduction

One of the continuing concerns to which any professional must devote serious thought and resources is that of developing programs to prepare and continually revitalize its members. The teaching profession is no exception.

The central focus of this paper will be on the continuing education (renewal) of teachers. The essential thesis is that the professional renewal of teachers must take place within a framework that:

1. allows teachers to exercise significant choice and judgment in determining the content and format of their professional renewal programs.
2. makes the best use of the resources and talents available from the national, state, and local scenes.
3. deploys selected resources and talents in ways that enhance the effectiveness of teachers, as evidenced by increased growth on the part of students.

All of this has to happen in concert with the contemporary American political, cultural, economic, and educational contexts. The problem is one of discovering how best to accomplish the task.

Education in America is a complex enterprise. Schools in some way touch the lives of all. Each individual aspires to the best education possible. A relationship can be postulated between the importance one places on education and the alarm he has about the current conditions of our schools. As we attach increased importance to education, we seem to develop increased aspirations for and increased anxieties about our schools.

Much too frequently all of the social, political, or economic problems of contemporary America are placed at the *schoolhouse* door. Teachers are expected to accept not only the blame for the existence of these problems, but also the responsibility for their correction. While teachers alone can *not* be totally responsible for creating such problems as racial inequities, crime, drugs, violence or alienation, they do have to cope with these frustrations daily in the schools. Both the novice and veteran must possess the knowledge and professional competencies to deal effectively and confidently with the ever-changing myriad of challenges and frustrations.

While change has always been a phenomenon of life, in the past it took place at a pace that made it almost imperceptible. Today change happens at a pace that in many respects renders a four-year college program obsolete before the graduate can put it to use on the job. Thus if schools are going to stay current, and if teachers are going to keep themselves professionally relevant, they must constantly revitalize themselves.

The Pre-Service Education of Teachers

If one examines the history of teacher education in America, he quickly recognizes that in-service education of teachers has existed almost as long as public education. In the early years of public education in America, teachers had little if any preparation for teaching. Typically the town fathers instructed the teacher on how to maintain order and respect, and how to deal with the unruly. Frequently the better educated members of the community assisted in giving the teacher direction and help with the 3–R's.

Later one and two-day Institutes were developed for teachers, usually those with more experience assisting those with less experience. These institutes dealt almost entirely with remediation, i.e., overcoming gross defects. Gradually teacher training took shape in the form of short training classes lasting from six weeks to six months. Later, two-year and then four-year programs of preparation preceded one's taking a teaching job. It would seem logical to conclude that with the evolution of more formalized pre-service programs

one would see the gradual demise of in-service education. However,quite the contrary is the case.

With increased demands being placed on schools and teachers, with the pace of change quickening daily, and with a constant realignment of national and local priorities, the case for continuous renewal programs for teachers takes on greater meaning.

Let us at this point quickly examine the *state of the art* of teacher education and then predict what the future may and perhaps should purport.

The vast majority of teachers enter the profession as a result of completing four-year college programs which include fairly traditional sequences of professional courses which has been reviewed and approved by the appropriate state departments of education. Graduates are certified for teaching on the basis of statments from the preparing institutions that the tyro teachers have in fact successfully completed approved programs in the prescribed manner. As one examines these procedures, he can likely conclude only one thing, that the teachers have been successful in passing college courses. While generally included in teachers training are direct experience components (student teaching), this is frequently considered to be too little and too late. Far too often student teaching is viewed as being unrealistic preparation to assume the responsibilities of the real world of today's teacher.

Consequently boards of education find themselves in the position of picking up on the pre-service program and extending and supplementing basic teaching skills and competencies. In serving this need as well as the need to assist teachers in the process of continuous self renewal, school boards are very much in the business of teacher education.

The In-Service Education of Teachers

Let us now take a quick look at in-service programs. Like many pre-service programs, little consistency has emerged from school to school in the quality, quantity, or kinds of in-service programs. They range all the way from poorly planned and poorly executed faculty meetings, dealing with *administrivia,* to well organized, systematically administered, very well supported, staff development programs operating on a system-wide basis.

In-service programs or continuing professional development experiences in which teachers typically engage are: national, state and regional conferences, summer institutes, building and district level workshops, travel, and university courses. The problem with most staff development experiences is that they tend to be highly theoretical and are not tied closely enough to classroom performance. Thus they have little effect on modifying teacher behavior. Also, teachers tend to use these experiences to achieve social and professional mobility. Teachers are not unaware that such things look good on their credentials, and ultimately tend to earn them higher salaries and more responsible positions. Another problem is that in-service programs not infrequently are planned by non-teachers, to explore *frills* or *fads,* symptoms rather than causes, and serve as P-R instruments for administrators.

Over the years one group after another has paraded projects, institutes, innovations, workshops, programs, or pedogogical method courses through the schools. Teachers have been deluged with ideas and materials prepared by other people. For the most part, these are viewed by teachers as having relatively minor carryover into classroom application. Teachers have been sold one panacea after another. . .*Try it, you'll like it.* I submit that no other group has been so dependent on the self-styled expert, who comes forth daily from all walks of life with instant prescriptions for success.

The British Teachers' Centre[1]

The Schools Council of Britain over the last five or six years has been working on a staff renewal model designed to guarantee the utility of in-service education. It has developed something called *Teachers' Centres.*

Teachers' Centres in Britain are local physical facilities wherein self-improvement programs are organized and run by the teachers themselves. They exist to upgrade educational performance. Their primary function is to develop teacher-acceptable answers to teacher-defined, teacher-researched problems.

Three propositions underline the British Teachers' Centre concept: 1) educational reform will come only from those charged with the basic educational responsibility; 2) teachers are unlikely to change their ways of doing things based upon the platitudes of reformers: 3) teachers will take reform seriously only when they are responsible for defining their own educational problems, delineating their own needs, and receiving help on their own terms.

Hence the key characteristic of the British centre is that the development and control of programs is with the local teachers. A part-time assistant serves to coordinate the activities of the centre but the program remains in the hands of the teachers.

Typically programs evolve from local teacher-dominated management committees to encourage self-improvement programs. The purposes for the latter are obviously to institute the upgrading of educational performance. Teachers are able to review existing curricula, practices, and innovations developed by both commercial and local talents through exhibits and promotional activities. Experimental classes on community, adolescent, or family problems, which may involve other educational personnel (social workers, parents, health officers, etc.), round out the British centre program.

Teachers' centres are social institutions as well, where teachers can relax, get to know one another, and to swap ideas and experiences informally. One of the reasons why most of the centres are physically separate from active school buidings is to provide a sense of proprietary informality. Because the teachers are not in a deferential milieu, they somehow feel that *all of this* is their own. At long last they have been given the chance to take initiative in educational reform.

The plan to have reform emerge from teachers' own experiences and creative impulses is new, and only preliminary evaluations have been carried out. The programs, budgets, facilities, and success of centres vary widely from centre to centre, but already much creative energy and enthusiasm of teachers, sharing of knowledge, and rapid dissemination of responsible innovations have resulted.

The noticeable strengths of the Teachers' centre (British model) revolve around the fact that it places responsibility for improved teacher performance and the assessment of teachers' needs with those who are most closely associated with learners. Furthermore, the attendance to local needs as assessed by the teachers would appear to build in a continuing, updating factor which should result in meaningful, developmental, renewal experiences for teachers.

However, even with the allowance for cultural differences between Britain and the United States, one might question the wisdom of what appears to be a *closed shop* involving teachers only.

One might ask if the British teachers' centre model isn't too pragmatically oriented, and if it doesn't depend too much upon provincial *in-house* talent and ideas.

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[1]This section adapted from: Stephen K. Bailey, "Teachers' Centers" (unpublished address to the NEA-GRIP Seminar, Boston, Mass., November 1971); Stephen K. Bailey, "Teachers' Centers: A British First," Phi Delta Kappan, LIII, No. 3 (November 1971), 140-49.

The most important question is always, *will it work in the United States?* And if so, in what contexts will it work effectively?

Some American adaptations however, are presently being developed. It is suggested that programs such as the one Dr. Amity Buxton is working with in the Bay Area Cooperative Teacher Center in Oakland, California, be carefully studied and researched.

The Inter Agency (Parity) Teaching Center

As we study and research the British centre model we must not neglect to look at the realities we face in the United States today. Two quite separate arenas exist – the pre-service primarily under the jurisdiction of the colleges and universities, and the in-service primarily under the jurisdiction of school districts. This dichotomy, definitely real, raises some very important and unanswered questions regarding the structures and governance of teacher education. Until recently the public seemed to have placed the final responsibility for teacher education with the institutions of higher education. However more recently the *practicing profession* and in fact the *broader community*, including parents and students, are questioning the exclusive domination of teacher education by the colleges and universities and are seeking an earlier and more essential role in determining what happens to teachers prior to their coming into the profession. On the other hand, college faculties are suggesting that they should have a more essential role in the continuing professional development of teachers after these teachers enter the profession.

James Conant has suggested a division of responsibility, saying the university should be responsible for the academic content, the foundational study and the methodology. The state, representing the public and the practicing profession, should be responsible for certifying practice with joint participation of schools and colleges in establishing professional laboratories and programs of supervision. His idea of the *clinic professor* would promote this latter point.

This position has been studied and debated over the years with the colleges usually taking the position that the training of professional personnel is rightfully the responsibility of the colleges – while on the other hand the practicing profession has typically assumed the posture, at least theoretically if not actually, that it should have the responsibility for setting standards and routes by which people enter the profession.

These polarities have been aggravated by allegations that the practicing profession is incapable or inadequate to assume such responsibilities, the implication being that the practicing profession is presently incompetent in the areas of teacher education, training, supervision and evaluation. On the other hand, the public schools have constantly accused the colleges of being not only insensitive to the needs of public education, but irrelevant to the times and too removed from the *real world* to be adequate for the responsibility.

Over and above this, the lay public can be heard to say more clearly today than ever before – that *The education of our teachers is too critical to be left to the teacher educators.*

These are basic differences and are at least in part generated by differing philosophies of how teachers should be prepared and by whom. Torn by these differences almost to the point of being professionally impotent, we find ourselves having to generate new and innovative ways of assuming our responsibilities for training and renewing teachers. Furthermore we must find some new avenues for bringing together ideas, resources, energies and personnel, into a united effort for teacher improvement.

Many new organizational patterns as well as some new and more sophisticated patterns of school-university partnerships are appearing on the professional scene. Attempts are being made at many levels to reassess needs, to realign priorities, and to reallocate resources in hopes of making a concentrated, long-range attack on educational reform.

In an effort to bring together participating organizations into a functioning partnership, and convinced that true cooperation in teacher education is a *sine-qua-non*, and convinced that the essence of true cooperation is joint decision-making with the resultant concepts of joint responsibility and joint accountability, a *teaching center* concept was developed by the Office of Laboratory Experiences at the University of Maryland and the Montgomery County (Maryland) School System in 1966. Since that time many adaptations have emerged across the country.

The teaching center is designed to meet the needs of teacher self-improvement while at the same time creating effective learning environments for students. It is organized to meet the needs and interests of experienced professionals (as well as pre-professionals) in a way that permits each to become a student of teaching at his own particular level of professional development. Physically, a teaching center is a cluster of geographically contiguous schools, and environment where teaching and the effects of teaching can be studied and researched. Organizationally, it is a partnership between a school system and one or more preparing institutions, with the possible inclusion of the professional associations and the state department of education.

Directing this program in each center is a full-time center coordinator who is jointly selected and employed by the school system and university. His role generally is to unify the personnel and material resources of the cooperating agencies for two purposes: a) to provide laboratory experiences for the pre-service students assigned to the center; and b) to organize in-service programs and activities for the center staff. Stationed in the center schools, the coordinator is in constant contact with and serves as a continuing resource to both the pre-service and the in-service teachers.

College personnel are not limited to working with pre-professionals, but also function in the capacity of curriculum and teacher education resource consultants to the center staff. With additional training, the teachers assume increased responsibility for the supervision of the pre-professionals and free the college supervisors to work more directly as in-service staff trainers. Thus the public school personnel assume increased responsibility for the pre-service program and in return the college or university assumes increased responsibility for the in-service program.

While pre-professionals develop teaching competence, the professional teachers develop advanced teaching competence as well as expertise in specialized areas of personal interest. In each of the centers a sequence of in-service workshops, seminars and programs is developed with an by the teachers. Programs are developed in a teaching center only in response to needs clearly delineated by the center staff. The courses offered are designed to promote the study of teaching and the effects of teaching. Among other things they focus on techniques of developing creative learning environments, the analysis of the teaching act, the study of specific teaching behaviors, instructional strategies, curriculum evaluation and redesign and ways to modify teaching behavior.

Center staff members also are given opportunities to participate in a wide range of professional development experiences including attendance at local, regional and national conferences, workshops and clinics, microteaching and simulation labs. National leaders in education are also brought to the centers to work with staff in developing and implementing creative programs. The centers become vehicles for validating and disseminating promising innovations developed elsewhere across the country.

College faculty members are available to work with teachers in updating content and methodology in specific instructional areas. The close association between college and public school faculties leads to the involvement of public school personnel in professional courses, and college personnel become more involved in the curriculum of the public schools.

The teaching center concept has proven applicable to all types of educational

situations: elementary and secondary schools; urban and suburban schools, open-space classrooms and self-contained classroms; large group instruction; small group instruction; and individualized instruction.

The teaching center shares the responsibility for decision making regarding professional development and draws upon the resources of those organizations and institutions that have historically, legally, and traditionally had some responsibility for teacher education within the American educational system. Concerned with the development of a systematic, yet personal and individualized approach to pre-professional and professional teacher education, the center is governed by a board composed of representatives of the teachers, administrators, colleges or universities, teachers' associations, state department of education, and local community.

Preliminary research indicates that center teachers do feel that they have control over those programs that serve to revitalize their teaching. Teachers also indicate significant satisfaction with their ability to define their own educational needs and to dictate the methods of receiving help.

The strengths of this plan lie in its attempt to form a parity relationship, thereby sharing the responsibility and decision-making power for improved teacher effectiveness and learner performance with all elements of the educational system. The resulting cooperative venture has great potential for diagnosing professional and student needs, and for developing strategies for the achievement of improved teacher performance through the evaluation of learner outcomes.

Perhaps the most notable difficulty in this plan is that of initially establishing a working partnership among the involved groups. This does not come easily or quickly, but once developed tends to be highly productive, and provides for open challenge of ideas and techniques with the result that the best remain. Any program or innovation which emerges from the policy-solving, program-development processes, conceived and carried out by the center staff, has a far greater acceptance and chance for success than one imposed from outside.

The Value and Function of the Teacher Center in the Renewal Process

As we consider these two somewhat different models of teacher centers we can readily see some very apparent differences. Perhaps the most important difference is that the British model is exclusively an organization of teachers, for teachers, and operated by teachers, whereas the teaching center model fosters the development of an equal partnership including not only teachers but all of those who have some legal or historical responsibility for teacher education in our American system of public and higher education. Another apparent difference is that the teaching center brings together pre-service and in-service teacher education into one on-going program, whereas the British centre deals with in-service only.

One might debate the relative merits of one model over the other but the most important fact to consider is that no model is a panacea in and of itself. When placed in proper perspective, they must be viewed as *means* not ends. They serve as vehicles to attain certain kinds of goals. Thus any decision that would select one model over another should be made on the basis of the evidence one has that one particular model will in fact be a more productive vehicle than any other, given the specific goals to be attained and the specific contexts in which it has to function. Thus what happens within these centers is by far the more important issue.

Many reasons strongly suggest that staff renewal take place in and be supported by some kind of teacher center. Without this vehicle we have much less hope of achieving significant change in teacher behavior. Research on change tells us that for significant events to occur, among other things, two very important conditions have to be met: a)

Those who will be effected by the change have to accept it and be involved in it (which means they have to become agents of change as opposed to being objects of change) and b) some vehicle or mechanism which facilitates the desired change and enables it to endure the pressures of opposition and rejection (which inevitably accompany any significant change) must be utilized. The teacher center has a unique potential to meet both of these conditions. In regard to the first point an essential characteristic of a teacher center is that the teachers are able to specify their own needs and priorities as well as determining the means by which these needs and priorities will be met. In regard to the second point, the teacher center is both a place and a vehicle for designing, facilitating, and promoting change.

Educational renewal in the broad and most comprehensive sense, as is being considered by the U.S. Office of Education, includes not only professional staff renewal but also such things as curriculum and program renewal, organizational renewal, fiscal renewal, school-community relations renewal, and assessment renewal. Dan Davies, who serves as Deputy Commissioner for renewal in the U.S. Office of Education, makes it very clear that an essential component of every proposed renewal site will be a well developed teacher center focusing directly on the renewal of professional staff.

If professional renewal is synonymous with improvement of professional competence (and it is), then every renewal program must begin by specifying the competencies and criteria against which classroom performance will be judged. The most basic logic would dictate that teachers themselves have to play a very significant role in specifying these competencies and criteria. By the same token, they should also have a determining role in designing programs intended to help them meet those criteria.An interesting side effect of this process is when teachers begin to differentiate competencies they also begin to differentiate teacher tasks. This tends to result in priority use of teacher time. Thus, non-professional tasks are stripped away leaving time for creative professional growth experiences to be planned into the teaching day rather than placing them entirely outside of the teaching day and outside of the teaching environment, which is the usual current pattern.

One could hardly imagine a system less effective in improving teaching performance than the one we now use. Typically we send teachers away from their teaching environment, after a long exhausting day, to take courses at universities or to participate in a regional workshops. The involvement of teachers in the planning and directing of these experiences is minimal and frequently the interest, enthusiasm and perceived benefit is likewise marginal. On the contrary, if in-service education is going to have any significant direct effect on improving the education of children, then it has to have a much closer physical and programatic affinity to particular schools and the purposes and priorities of the teaching staffs therein. One effect of encouraging teachers to go off to universities to take courses of their own choice is that they return with many differing sets of priorities and points of view. Frequently the enthusiasm and motivation coming from such experiences are destroyed when a teacher tries to implement new ideas or curricular designs in conflict with the goals or priorities of their schools.

The value of the teacher center is that it has a unique capability of eliminating many of the undesirable current practices in teacher education as well as extending the possibilities of offering creative professional renewal opportunities.

It does this first by providing a focus for teachers to assemble – hopefully a place that is socially attractive and professionally stimulating – a place equipped with an up-to-date resources center, a media and communications center, a materials development laboratory, a micro teaching and simulation laboratory, a computer center, a diagnostic center, as well as experimental classrooms and laboratories. It also serves to promote professional staff development through the continuing roster of the individual and group

opportunities it offers in the form of workshops, seminars, courses, and laboratory experiences.

Over and above all of these, it serves the function of providing leadership to faculty efforts. The center coordinator (either full or part-time) is responsible for organizing the interests of the teachers and directing them into profitable channels. It is his responsibility to facilitate the planning and peer decision-making processes, as well as to identify and make available the resources to achieve the goals of the center staff. Lastly it serves to stimulate and renew the aspirations of the teacher. Fundamental changes in teacher behavior that result in better teaching come not so much because the teacher has been exposed to *things* that are new and different but more because a change in his beliefs, purposes, values and convictions automatically overflow into his teaching. The nature of a properly functioning teacher center is such that it provides opportunities and resources uniquely capable of revitalizing a teacher's mastery of basic knowledge and skills. More importantly it provides a mechanism and opportunity for continuous interaction to extend the teacher's ability to make more appropriate decisions regarding the critical issues that occur in the classroom.

Summary and Conclusions

Ample evidence convices one of the importance of the teacher. The assumption that teaching is something that can be learned in a few short months in a traditional college program is blatantly false. Society is changing so rapidly that even if it were true a generation ago, it is no longer true. Thus evidence and logic lead us to conclude that the future of teacher education, and in fact the future of education, lies with our ability to develop and continually renew the competencies of teachers.Among other things, we will zealously labor so that:

1. The discontinuity between pre-service and in-service will be overcome and professional development will continue throughout the career of the teacher.
2. Teacher competencies will be clearly identified and that proficiency in these will be obvious in classrooms.
3. Precise performance criteria will be clearly identified and applied.
4. Credentialing procedures will be consistently more realistic and oriented to performance criteria. (At least one-third of the states are now moving in this direction.)
5. Teachers will have consistent and meaningful opportunities to interact in open and unthreatening situations wherein they can identify both their problems and the alternative solutions to their problems.
6. Teacher centers will be the rule rather than the exception.
7. Professional development programs will become individualized from early pre-service through advanced in-service.
8. School and professional agencies can be recognized as partners in teacher education along with the colleges and universities.
9. Time will be built into the teacher's schedule for personalized professional development activities, e.g., four days a week for teaching, one day for planning and personal development.
10. Resources will be adequate to meet the needs – more equitably distributed and used across agency lines.
11. A systematic and valid set of diagnostic and evaluative procedures will be used to assess levels of teacher competency.
12. Teachers will have under one contractual arrangement both teaching and training responsibilities.

13. Professional growth will be recognized as being highly idiosyncratic and programs will be planned accordingly.

We can go on and on! The frontier is very real but the achievement of these is not impossible. Our goal has to be that of making the professional renewal of teachers a conscious and visible part of the life and work of every educator. The consistent application of the action-research, problem-solving model of in-service education, placed in the context of planned change, and implemented through the vehicle of the teacher center, should ultimately eliminate the discontinuities and make every classroom a renewal environment for both student and teacher.

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CARE AND EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG CHILD

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Increased Interest In Early Education

Although early childhood education has a rich and lengthy history, only in the last ten years has there been substantial interest in this field among the general public. School begins at five or six for most youngsters and conventional wisdom holds that not much of academic significance occurs before that age. What little systematic attention was accorded the early years in previous periods focused mainly on physical and emotional aspects of growth rather than learning and mental development. Where group programs for young children did exist they tended to provide only custodial care for certain children or social and creative experiences for others.

All this has changed dramatically now, however; there is wide interest in language and intellectual development, the possible consequences of different early environments, patterns of child rearing, parent education programs, and many other matters related to profound social problems and important research efforts. Several factors have interacted to bring about this drastically altered state of affairs in the early education field.

Research

Both social action and research were stimulated by Bloom's very important summary of developmental studies from several fields.(1) Bloom concluded that human development can be most significantly influenced by environmental conditions during periods of rapid change in the characteristic under consideration; that is, in the case of height, for example, diet would be especially crucial in infancy and adolescence, the two periods of greatest growth. With respect to the educationally relevant areas of language and intelligence, Bloom's analysis indicated that school came too late to have maximum influence, the most plastic period having come to a close by age four.

Bloom's conclusions, sometimes not completely understood, were seized upon by social activists and others interested in showing that children from poverty backgrounds could be best helped toward school success by early intervention programs such as Head Start. Later remedial efforts, it was argued, would have to be proportionately much greater and more expensive and would still be unlikely to produce the results possible with preschool stimulation projects.

Another highly influential book was Hunt's *Intelligence And Experience,* in which he sought to analyze research evidence and theories bearing on the nature of human intellectual development.(5) Hunt presented a scientific basis for arguing that an enriched early environment which provided a wide range of potential learning experiences was essential for optimal mental growth. Such a position contrasted sharply with earlier ones which held that parents, in order to be assured of proper development for their child, need only concern themselves with the provision of secure and hygenic surroundings. This message was significant for the general pouplation as well as those sectors committed to assisting children from deprived backgrounds.

While Bloom and Hunt were raising these important questions, many scholars and practitioners interested in education and psychology became increasingly influenced by the work of the Swiss investigator, Jean Piaget. Piaget, who over a period of forty years has formulated a complete theory of human intellectual development, stresses the importance of active involvement of the organism in constructing its own explanation of environmental events. Here were additional grounds for believing that there might be ways to influence human growth in beneficial directions. Moreover, Piaget's theory and associated extensive work with children seemed to provide some clues as to how an educational sequence might be so structured as to follow rather closely the natural trends in the growth of the child mind.(6)

To some extent because of interest in Piaget-related work but also as a result of concern with social problems related to child rearing, by the mid-1960s substantial research attention began to focus on infants and toddlers in the first three years of life. Such work appeared needed in view of evidence that even three-year-olds differed substantially among themselves in their general approach to life and strategies for dealing with problems. Several research groups began systematic efforts to determine the degree to which these behavioral characteristics were established through interaction with adults and, therefore, subject to modification.

Head Start and Other Compensatory Programs

Easily the most popular component of the War on Poverty was Head Start, the preschool project designed to help young disadvantaged children overcome handicapping conditions considered likely to inhibit school success. Hundreds of thousands of children have attended summer and year-long classes offered under this program.

Many benefits have been derived from Head Start and similar ventures, but there is little justification for claiming that the original intent of guaranteeing school success for all poverty level children has been realized. It may well be, however, that this lack of fulfillment of expectations is leading to work of greater ultimate significance than that undertaken initially. The fact that studies of children younger than Head-Start age developed from a recognition that even three year olds required earlier help has already been mentioned. And support for programs to follow Head Start in the school derived from a concern that the educational system would have to be modified in fundamental ways if gains made in preschool classes were to be capitalized upon. These various modifications are now being considered as possible ways to offer all children optimal learning environments in place of the routines of the traditional school.

Although compensatory preschool education was designed for disadvantaged youngsters, these projects have been instrumental in sensitizing all levels of society to the possibilities inherent in early instruction. Television's *Sesame Street,* for example, is not only watched by many children from a wide variety of backgrounds but has also increased adult interest in learning experiences for the very young.

Public Attention to Education

With the growing significance of the economic and social decisions involved, activities at all levels of the educational enterprise have come under close examination. The daily media convey much material related to school matters, locally and nationally, and several best-selling books have discussed the problems of education or youth. These factors both reflect increased attention to schools and contribute to it.

In this context early childhood may be viewed as the most rapidly developing area of education. New institutions, ranging from research centers to neighborhood nursery schools, are being established every day. Fully developed, articulated plans for assuring optimal growth of infants and young children are put forth regularly by individuals and groups. Educational materials and products have been marketed at an increasing volume, indicating substantial consumer interest. Colleges announce with growing frequency the inauguration or expansion of programs designed to prepare staff in early education. A substantial number of professional and popular books related to young children have been published recently.

The range and extent of this activity clearly indicate the presence of a substantial trend toward acceptance of the principle that education in some organized form ought to begin quite early in the child's life, certainly before the traditional age of school entrance.

Day-Care Services

Very recently there has developed a significant movement which seeks the establish-

ment of easily available daily child-care facilities outside the home. The sources of this demand vary, encompassing all income levels and localities. There can be no doubt of the potential in this field; U.S. Government figures indicate that over four million working mothers have children less than six years of age.(7)

For many families the day-care question is tied to finances in a very direct way. The standard of living aspired to by most young couples requires that the wives be employed, both before and after the arrival of children. In the case of a high proportion of low-income households the mother is often the chief or only wage-earner, a situation which means that arrangements must be made for small children during the day and for others before and after school. Most job-training and other instructional programs for disadvantaged adult women require that their children be cared for during the period of training, something frequently done in centers affiliated with the institutions in which the trainees are enrolled. But this group of mothers often finds no such service available when they leave the project and enter actual employment.

Even when there is no economic necessity for a mother to work the issue remains as a social and political one. Many citizens, men and women, believe that mothers who wish to be employed as a matter of preference should have that opportunity without any difficulty being presented in the way of the absence of responsible day-care service.

All who have examined the question of day care agree that centers should not only provide well for the physical and emotional needs of children but should also establish a setting and an operational system which guarantee optimal educational conditions. In practical terms such a goal means that a quality day-care facility would incorporate nursery schools for three-to-five groups and special environments and experiences for infants and toddlers. If older children are served, other resources should be provided for the hours when they are in attendance.

Early Education Programs And Projects

The nursery school has been the principal, if not exclusive, early education facility for some time but is now being joined by agencies working with both younger and older children. Some under-threes are served by group programs and others are visited regularly in their homes. A significant number of kindergarten and primary-grade students attend classes which have been influenced by one of several trends in the field of early education.

Infants and parents

The often-stated belief that parents are children's most important teachers now has a body of research evidence as well as natural wisdom supporting it. Several investigators have conducted studies which demonstrate rather conclusively that parents, especially mothers, differ substantially in how they interact with their infants and that these differences have observable consequences in the behavior of the children.

Hess and his associates have found, for example, systematic variation in how they help their children solve certain problems among groups of mothers from various income and social backgrounds. In general, lower-class mothers involved in these studies appeared to take a highly negative approach in their teaching, doing little in the way of explaining and encouraging while making many negative comments and issuing brief commands. (4)

Other investigators have found that mothers of children identified as successful in meeting life problems at the age of three engage in highly similar childrearing practices; they provide an interesting environment and allow the child to explore it rather completely, concerning themselves only with the safety of the baby and some of their

most prized possessions. In this setting the child *learns* much on his own and also receives some instruction from the mother. The result is a youngster who knows how to gain information from his environment, process it, and use it to deal with situations he confronts.

Since it is possible to define to some extent what *good* mothers do, several types of projects aimed at the improvement of parents' teaching skills have been designed and implemented. Gordon, in rural Florida, has conducted an extensive program involving the preparation of indigenous leadership people who go from home to home assisting mothers in establishing child-educating procedures of their own. Neighborhood play groups, organized in someone's yard, serve as centers for parent education.(3) Similar *Home Start* efforts operate under the sponsorship of various agencies.

At the national level Parent Child Centers which provide health and social as well as educational services have been established in response to concern that Head Start began too late to be really effective in alleviating handicapping conditions affecting the disadvantaged child or the entire family.

Organized Group Programs

Developmental Nursery Schools

The conventional nursery school sponsored by a community agency, administered by a college, or operated by a private party for profit, is the most widely available early education facility.

Whatever their origin or management, nursery schools tend to be highly similar in their operation. They are usually overseen by a head teacher with specialized perparation in child development or early education. This person will be assisted by others who may or may not have had specific preparation for their responsibilities. If the school is of the cooperative type, those assisting will often be parents helping one day at a time on a rotating basis.

The typical well maintained nursery school will have a variety of learning areas available to the children, a playhouse corner, an area for building with large blocks, easels in a special place for painting, manipulative toys, clay and other materials to be used at tables, and such additional possibilities as book corners, large riding and rocking toys, water and sand tables, climbing apparatus, and outside playgrounds.

The daily schedule of the usual nursery school is made up of alternating individual and group activities, quiet and active periods, and directed or non-directed experiences. Normally a major portion of a half-day program will be given over to a very important individual-choice period during which children are encouraged to choose among activities available in the various areas of the room. The role of adults is crucial at this time as they can make the experiences much more valuable by circulating among the students, asking questions, restructuring activities, offering suggestions, assisting, listening, and in many ways augmenting the learning which is taking place all around them. (It will be noted that this pattern of adult behavior corresponds to that attributed to the *good mother* role identified in homes which produce the better-performing infants.) A person following such a pattern – it is also found in the better kindergartens – does not ignore the children, but neither does she constantly interfere with their chosen activities or attempt to be the sole center of attention.

Much high-quality learning goes on in a well-operated nursery class. Children develop motor and perceptual skills by manipulating form boards, for example; they learn concepts as they build with blocks, play in water, and care for plants and animals; language is enhanced through such activities as discussion and story-telling and dress-up dramatic play; large-muscle abilities are gained through practice in climbing, hopping, and tricycle riding.

But the principal goal in nursery education has been social and emotional development. The good home provides most of the other opportunities – painting, books, riding toys, puzzles, clay and all the rest. Most parents who enroll their child in nursery school seek not these experiences but rather the context in which they occur: the group setting. Three- and four-year-olds are placed in nursery schools so that they will have opportunities to leave the home regularly, be to that extent independent of the family, and interact with other children. Parents want their young child to begin the process of discovering that, just as there are persons who deserve respect, there are many other people in the world who will react to them individually but not as a beloved member of the same family. Americans value independence combined with the ability to get along well with others and the developmental nursery school promotes these same goals.

In addition to this traditional nursery school, there exists one other type with a rather long history and some degree of acceptance, the program devised by Maria Montessori on the basis of her careful assessment of children's developmental needs. Although there is much variation among the schools labeled *Montessori,* and many so designated closely resemble the typical nursery class, the institutions following this approach tend to de-emphasize group experiences and creative work in favor of individual activities with specialized equipment and materials designed to promote specific learnings graded in difficulty. Advocates of this approach contend that such a program, combined with certain genuine rather than make-believe housekeeping tasks, provides an optimal developmental environment. They insist that social-emotional needs are not ignored, since the child learns that he is a worthwhile person who can solve problems of many different sorts. Some nursery school teachers following the conventional approach agree that the Montessori materials may be valuable but include these among the usual ones rather than insist that they be used more or less exlusively and according to precise teacher-given directions.

Follow-Through Models

Project Head Start was conceived of as a likely means of inoculating disadvantaged children against school failure. Advocates argued that many children of poverty lacked the quality of general care and educative opportunities provided in more affluent and cultured homes. Since middle-class children do very well in school and the nursery class duplicates many of the experiences they have at home, it seemed reasonable that Head Start should follow the pattern of the developmental nursery school. Disadvantaged children would thus, or so it seemed, have their backgrounds compensated for in ways which would help them prepare for formal instruction.

Almost from the beginning various individuals and groups disagreed with this analysis. Because traditional nursery school goals emphasized social and emotional growth, uninformed individuals leaped to the conclusion that in such an approach there would be little or no attention to much needed cognitive and language skills. Many early childhood educators, having worked exclusively with youngsters who already possessed superior mental and linguistic skills when they came to school, failed to grasp the significance of the questions being raised and insisted that no one needed to be terribly concerned; children did not require instruction in such natural traits as thinking and speaking. Head Start staff members confronted with non-talking four-year-olds were not so sure.

Even those who accepted Head Start as a proper sort of program expressed doubts that one year, or even two, of preschool education would prepare disadvantaged youngsters for the traditional school, a place where their older brothers and sisters had so often encountered failure and bitter disappointment. These critics pointed out that any gains children made in Head Start soon disappeared when they went on the larger classes and

rigid procedures of the primary grades or even kindergarten. Their position was that what needed changing was the school system, not the child.

In answer to these criticisms government agencies responsible for Head Start and related projects announced that funds for Follow Through classes to carry Head Start children on into kindergarten and the primary grades would be granted only to school systems agreeing to modify their classes in one of several definitive ways, the precise model selected to be a matter determined by the school district. Several "Follow Through Models" were identified and descriptions of them made available to interested school systems. In some cases the models were adopted by Head Start and public-school compensatory preschool projects, in which case the term *Planned Variation* was employed.

Although including common elements such as provision of medical and social services and the requirement of significant involvement of parents in the decision-making process, the models range widely in their degree of departure from the traditional approach, representing several different theoretical positions and research efforts. School systems following the various models are cooperating in a major investigation designed to lead to a better understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of each approach.

The list of models is not static, but several have been in use since the initiation of the project. An examination of the more prominent ones provides an overview of much of the work going on in early education at the present time. It is reasonable to anticipate that various of these approaches will be made available to day care centers for possible adoption as their educational component. All of the model programs have multiple objectives and each has been designed to help children. The grouping used here is intended as an aid to discussion.* (The Florida parent education program discussed in a preceding secion is also an available model.)

Teaching School-Related Skills

Several Follow Through models give primary attention to preparing children for conventional school and assisting them to succeed in that environment. Most widely discussed of these is the *Academically Oriented* approach originally formulated as the Bereiter-Engelmann plan for disadvantaged preschool children. The basic argument for this strategy is that many poverty-level youngsters lag so far behind their middle-class age mates when they come to school that the conventional nursery or kindergarten programs with their relatively less directed procedures simply cannot help such children make up their deficit in the time available. Rather, they must receive intensive direct instruction aimed at the achievement of a limited set of undeniably important objectives. From preschool through the primary grades lessons are sequenced and presented in a rather rigidly prescribed manner to small groups. The basic skills of language, number and reading are all treated in a similar fashion.

The *Behavioral Analysis* model also stresses the designation of limited objectives, but the approach has most to do with perfecting procedures to be employed in achieving whatever goals are set. In the better known behavior modification projects, however, the objectives have been traditional-school oriented, including such matters as speaking only with permission, following directions, and using materials in specified ways. The model emphasizes that those involved in a program should know how to spell out precisely what they would like a child to be able to do and then be willing to devote careful attention to seeing that the conditions of the situation are modified so that the likelihood of the desired behavior taking place increases toward surety. Various rewards and inducements,

*A good general reference for Follow-Through models is: Maccoby and Zellner, EXPERIMENTS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION: ASPECTS OF PROJECT FOLLOW THROUGH, Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich, 1970.

everything from candy to favorable adult comments, are offered to children to gain the desired ends. Unproductive or otherwise inappropriate responses are ignored or, sometimes, punished in a mild way. Projects following this model must give serious attention to staff training, as most adults find it difficult to follow the necessary procedures.

Other school-oriented models advocate careful step-by-step programming of a child's experiences so that he gradually learns what is presented and gains confidence through continued success. Such a system may be presented by means of an electronic device of some sort.

Changing the School

Rather than rendering traditional approaches more efficient, some model developers have stressed the need to abandon the usual style of classroom teaching. The *Educational Development Center* approach, borrowed principally from the British infant school movement, places the child rather than the teacher at the center of the learning process. The teacher creates an interesting classroom situation for children and then circulates among them, conferring with individuals, structuring learning activiteis, posing and answering questions, encouraging best efforts, teaching directly at appropriate points, and in many ways responding to students' needs.

Both the *Responsive Environment* and *Tucson Early Education* Follow Through models also emphasize the establishment of an interesting classroom in which many potentially valuable experiences are possible and where the child has some choice. These and the EDC strategy represent, when they are carried into the primary grades, a substantial departure from the conventional school practices of teacher-centered organization, textbook-dominated lessons, and required child poasivity. Advocates of these models argue that only a small proportion of children can succeed at the narrow range of learning activities presented by the traditional school. If all children are to find learning possible and enjoyable, the educational system must stress many ways of knowing, not just a few, and focus on the individual student, not the total group. It is interesting to note that, when the role of the teacher in these model programs is discussed, the description bears a strong resemblance to those of both the competent developmental nursery-school teacher and the mother of an infant judged to be *successful* in problem solving.

Fostering Normal Development

Two models given special attention to the process of studying the natural trends in child development in order to better understand how the school may support these. In the *Bank Street* approach emotional development receives equal attention with academic and intellectual performance. The position taken is that the various aspects interrelate to such a degree that the emotional cannot be ignored. Only if the child feels loved and accepted will he make optimal school progress. Teachers should conduct themselves and their programs in ways that will lead children to trust them.

The *Cognitively Oriented* program is based on the work of Piaget, who has provided a rather thorough description of how the child's mind develops. This cognitive strategy stresses the value of providing a rich environment with which the child interacts and as a result formulates an explanation of the world around him. The task of the teacher is to understand the stages of mental growth so that she can determine from his actions what a valuable next experience for the child might be. The intention is not to accelerate mental development, since this is possible only in superficial ways, but to insure its stability and continuance.

Planning Considerations

Head Start and Follow Through projects are being studied carefully in the expectation that each, in addition to assisting children in a general sort of way, will yield results different in kind or degree from other models. Such information would obviously be of use to those seeking solutions to particular problems having to do with the establishment of school curricula, day care centers, and other educational services.

Investigations related to prenatal care, infant learning, and mother-child interaction are also being carried out, and there is much to be learned in these largely neglected fields. Program developers and policy-making bodies now have little in the way of reliable information on which to base decisions. But, in the absence of proven knowledge, choices must be made and services rendered. It seems important to specify the important considerations which bear on these decisions.

Increased Options

Rather than wait and hope for complete answers to all questions, those concerned with establishing means to facilitate the early development of the child would be better advised to encourage a wide diversity of activities which can be monitored and expanded, altered, or terminated as results become apparent. The problems encountered are so complex that conflicting points may be easily identified.

For one important example, it is generally accepted that the child under three years of age will be highly vulnerable to emotional difficulties growing out of lack of a close and continuing warm relationship with a mother or someone fulfilling that role. This generalization would appear to mean that group care for infants and toddlers ought to be thought of as questionable or even inadvisable. On the other hand, there is ample evidence from the incidence of child abuse and knowledge of the gross deficiencies of many homes that not all children enjoy the warm nurturing climate required for optimal development. Group care, in such circumstances, could not cause further harm and might well be of significant help.

In this same area Caldwell has completed a rather careful study which indicates that, in a well-run program, infants may be separated from their mothers for a few hours per day without there being any deleterious effects. (Caldwell, 1972) A further consideration, however, is that a center operating at a standard comparable to the one investigated would be quite expensive to maintain.

In the case of the mother who needs assistance but wants to or must keep her child at home, a variety of potentially useful services may be considered, and some exemplary work is now in progress. Neighborhood play centers or baby clinics can serve as information and training locations with a staff to provide expert advice. Specialists can visit families regularly to answer questions and make suggestions. Comprehensive plans may evolve as the mother is encouraged to play with and stimulate the baby, learns to structure educative experiences as it grows older, and enrolls him in a day care center or nursery school.

Children from stable family situations should not be ignored. Their parents have always been among those most interested in providing an optimal environment for growth and would be the first to take advantage of child-rearing advice and services. Many of these mothers do so well in providing the child with a sense of trust and a positive outlook on life that he can go into a high-quality group care situation and derive much benefit from it.

Parent Involvement

Efforts to facilitate child growth and development must begin at an early age and in-

clude parents. In such areas as health and nutrition, work with families must begin during the prenatal period or even before. Most public health efforts have long been restricted to basic physical care, however, with, perhaps, some attention to emotional difficulties. Even in the best of circumstances, sytematic contact with professional infant-care advisors terminates soon after delivery.

Knowledge about early development would seem to warrant greater attention to making parents more effective in their roles, beginning during the first few months of the infant's life. An appropriate program would be carried out in such a way as to support parents and enhance their status, not undermine them, and thus strengthen families, not weaken them. Facilitating personnel would need to be flexible enough to maximize the beneficial influences within a particular home rather than insist on major, and therefore unlikely, revisions in life style. Any improvement in parents' performance would be of manifold importance, as there would be a high probability of making them more effective with any subsequent offspring.

Parent involvement is now mandated in all Federally-financed programs for children, and a few projects have been successful in establishing good relations with parents and bringing them into the decision-making process. The number of such success stories is notable by its small magnitude, however. In addition to the many practical problems of designating a satisfactory time for meetings and supplying transportation, there is the very serious matter that most poverty-background people are suspect toward institutions, including schools. Such parents desperately want a better life for their children and most know that the educational system could help in important ways. Their experiences with the system are mainly unfortunate, though, and they feel powerless to make it work for them.

But when treated with respect and shown how they may make an important contribution to their child's education, parents express interest in participating. The ways in which that interest is nurtured, expanded, and channeled will likely have an important influence on the child's development and the parent's attitude toward his own life situation.

Involvement of parents carries with it a threat as well as a promise. Many adults have very rigid and repressive attitudes concerning education and child-rearing practices. Given full authority over a class, many parent groups would advocate the most authoritarian sorts of practices in order to produce obedient and well trained children. Authorities advocating humane and child-oriented ways of working often find it difficult to convince parents that what may look like a common-sense way of doing things actually harms children. Parent involvement must be interwoven with parent education to realize the benefits from each.

Quality Control

In the case of an area expanding as rapidly as early care and education, there will be problems of maintaining standards of performance. Indeed, there have been so few programs in this field that no widely accepted set of standards exists. But, given the vulnerability of young children and their powerlessness to protect themselves, extreme care must be taken to see that unfortunate occurrences are guarded against.

Certainly the idea that traditional school should simply start a year or two earlier is repugnant to many.(10) The caution is expressed that the educational system has for good reason come under severe criticism for its sometimes callous treatment of children. Some critics are unwilling to see a school which has failed to deal with its current students as worthwhile human beings being given similar authority over younger ones.

Additionally, a few authorities argue that a quality day care operation, complete with

an appropriate number of trained staff, a full range of health and social services, adequate supplies and equipment, and an effective educational component, would be so expensive as to make even non-profit status unattainable without large subsidies. This position raises serious questions about the likelihood of day care as a business enterprise.

Those charged with the responsibility of overseeing the approval of programs for young children must surely look beyond such superficial matters as physical facilities and paper qualifications of staff to the nature of the situation actually provided for children and the quality of services available. This may well be an instance where something is sometimes worse than nothing.

Staff Preparation

With the expansion of child care and early education opportunities there have arisen serious questions concerning the selection and preparation of staff. It is clearly foolish to say that the early months and years of a child's life are crucially important but that it does not require any special expertise to fill the role of care giver. That is an attitude reflected in arguments favoring the establishment of day care centers on the grounds that employment possibilities for unskilled women will be thereby created.

The matter of deciding what categories of personnel might work with infants and young children under given conditions is a complex one that should be examined carefully. In the discussion of parent involvement it was pointed out that many adults have rather narrow views concerning what is best for children. When they are parents and thus have some rights to deal with their own child as they see fit, few would contend that the larger society should intervene except in serious circumstances. But when other people's children are being served and a responsible institution is involved, the adult who has been retained to work with youngsters cannot be given absolute authority to act in any way that he or she sees fit.

It seems apparent, then, that the average person off the street should not be judged ready to help children. Steps must be taken to provide on-the-job education as well as systematic formal learning experiences for them. The precise nature of these preparation programs is a matter for discussion among groups composed of professionals from various fields and interested private citizens.

Administrative Responsibility.

Many institutions have some degree of responsibility for either the pregnant woman, the infant, the young child, the distressed family, the adolescent on the brink of parenthood, or the day care worker in need of formal education. But not one of these agencies, whether clinic or hospital, welfare department, day care center, school or university, has the sort of record to recommend it as the sole dispenser of the services now seemingly called for. And not only does no single class of institution have a good reputation for its own qualities of efficiency and responsiveness, but no two have an acceptable record of cooperation with each other. Unfortunately, it is axiomatic that among public services there are gaps, duplications, competition, confusion, jealousy and waste.

In addition to the problem of agencies attending to only one or two aspects of child development and guarding their prerogatives, there is the difficulty arising out of their concern with a single chronological sector of life. The trap of seeing the period before birth as separate from infancy and that as distinct from early childhood must be avoided. In essence, continuity of life experience is what the current early education movement is all about. Its promise cannot be realized without significant change in how institutions operate.

Attempts to promote cooperation among agencies at both state and local levels have been made through 4-C *(Community Coordinated Child Care)* Councils which bring

together representatives of the relevant agencies. These groups undertake a variety of functions – from gathering information and advocating policies to establishing guidelines and coordinating staff training efforts.(9) Such work appears promising, but it depends on individuals and groups surrendering some of their autonomy, an act which may be foreign to their natures. Policy makers at all levels, however much they may respect the expertise and commitment embodied in various institutions, should be careful to build into programs the sorts of safeguards which will insure that children and families are assisted within the most comprehensive framework possible.

Value Judgements

Discussions of infant stimulation and early education do not proceed very far before questions of value intervene. Matters which go directly to the crucial points are apparent to many. What are the relative rights of society and the individual parent? What sorts of citizens do we want to produce? What authority does one sector of the population have to plan for others? Who will protect the rights of defenseless children?

As Siegel has pointed out, much of this sort of discussion will have to become quite explicit if understanding adequate to the task is to be achieved.(11) In the history of early education decisions have been made on the basis of needs and concerns of adults. If the diversity of children's requirements are truly recognized and a commitment made to meet them, mass projects identical in detail no matter who is being served will have to be forgone in favor of a more client-centered orientation.

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One of the U. S. Office of Education's Educational Resources Information Centers is devoted to Early Childhood Education. By contacting the Center interested parties may be placed on the mailing list to receive a newsletter.

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CAREER EDUCATITON

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Matters of Definition

Career education, properly applied involves every professional at every level of instruction. It is teaching and learning appropriate to learners which results both in greater understanding of the individuals as consumers in our industrial society, and in preparation of individuals to enter (or re-enter) the job market of that society under the best possible conditions of profit to themselves and others.

Career education must be evaluated by how well individuals perform as functioning parts of our industrial society compared with those who did not – or do not – benefit from this kind of education. That many young people have rejected the values and lifestyle of the *establishment* is no longer news. Those who belong to this establishment express much bewilderment at the antipathy, even animosity, directed by young adults toward the business and the industrial system today. The reasons for these attitudes are no doubt multiple in nature; however, it seems reasonable to assume that, in large measure, they may be attributed to a lack of understanding which results from the total absence of contact with, and knowledge about, our industrial society.

The past and present systems of industrial arts education and industrial vocational education have been so out of step with industrial reality that an apt comparison is difficult to express. It is surprising that young people did not become disenchanted with the industrial-business world long before the present generation began to express its dissatisfactions.

One of the best forms of industrial education has been on-the-job training. The present system of work-study is an extension of this kind of preparation. Those who establish career education programs in which career preparation and specialization is of paramount importance would do well to include some kind of work-study, on-the-job preparation, or cooperative endeavors to help achieve their goals.

In an effort to provide possible direction for future development, the United States Office of Education has funded four vastly different kinds of career education models. These include: *(1) Career education in schools, (2) Career education in the homes, (3) Career education in an employer (business-industry) context, and (4) Career education in residential families.*[1] These four research-demonstration models may well point the way toward a strategy or system of education unlike any we now utilize.

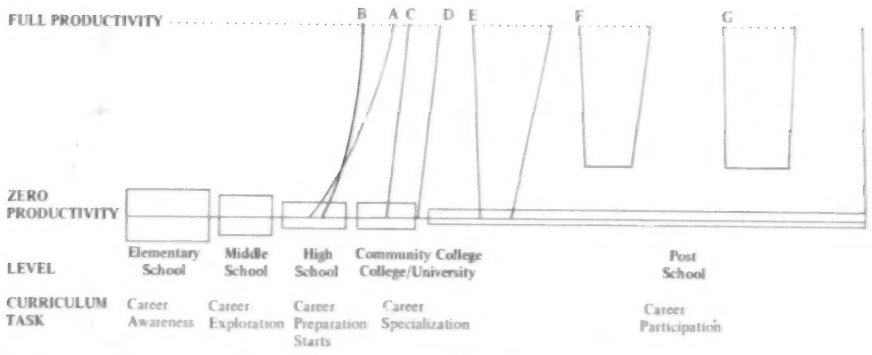
The striking feature of career education separating it from previous occupation-educational systems is its concern for the individual as a productive member of society up to and including retirement. Many models have been developed to demonstrate how a system or strategy of career education could work. The following model is presented only as one possible strategy for a developing career education program.

As shown in Figure I, the concepts of career awareness, orientation exploration, preparation and specialization are readily paried with their respective levels of scholastic organization. With the exception of developing career awareness at the elementary level, the uninitiated might be led to believe that *business as usual* was about to descend on the educational scene, that the career education proposals are new terms for old ideas. But the model takes matters beyond the community college, beyond the university, and into the mainstream of the lives of individuals in our communities. Career education is for the high school graduate and the high school dropout; for the college graduate and the educationally handicapped; for the unemployed and the physically handicapped; for the young and the old.

To identify career education as a new name for vocational educational would be a serious mistake – the concept of career education if far more comprehensive than the present structure of vocational education allows. Career education, for the first time, ties conceptually together all aspects of education at all levels of living in school and out. Its

FIGURE 1

A MODEL FOR CAREER EDUCATION



end is that citizens will be both free from ignorance in the liberally educated sense, and also be technically literate. Career education is a comprehensive educational program with social and occupational literacy as its primary concern. Career education begins in early childhood and continues throughout the productive life of the individual. As the writer states in *Man/Society/Technology:*

> *"Career education goes far beyond the limited concept of traditional vocational education. Career education from grades kindergarten through six involves teachers and youngsters in developing career awareness; in the junior high/middle school, career education involves teachers and students in developing career exploration and experimentation; in the senior high school, career education involves teachers and students in developing pre-occupational skills and, as the student emerges into his junior and senior years, becomes involved in career preparation. At the community college and beyond, teachers and learners become involved with career specialization and advancement. At this level, and continuing throughout the lifetime of the individual, a person should be able to merge into the world of work and, as necessary, (current job skills becoming obsolete for whatever reason) merge back into a viable educational system and then back into the world of work with little or no loss of productivity or income. It is obvious that career education should involve all subjects, disciplines, areas and professional personnel in a school."*(2)

Efficiency and Retraining

From the day an individual is hired for his first job, when his worth to the company in terms of productivity is negligible, to the time when he is producing maximally for the company (and himself), a predictable time-line is involved. It is reasonable to assume that the greater the initial preparation, the less the time involved between initial employment and maximum productivity. Hence, a high school dropout will usually take longer to reach maximum productivity than that experienced by the graduate of a community college. (See A and D, Figure 1.)

One of the real problems a worker faces today is that of remaining employable. For any one of numerous reasons, an individual will likely change his occupation three, four, five or more times prior to retirement. The changing demands of the labor market and the impact of computer-assisted, automated production have tended only to accentuate job changes.

The impact of the loss of employment to the worker can be characterized by the loss of income and productivity. To the individual who has done nothing to anticipate unemployment, the return to zero productivity (as shown at E, in Fig. 1) occasioned by the loss of his job is fully predictable.

How long the individual remains unemployed is again a complex problem. The demands of the labor market and the nature of existing job skills possessed will, in large measure, determine whether or not the individual is reeemployed at an early date.

Career education, in terms of worker employability, not only should reduce the time between jobs to a minimum, but also should enable the individual to move from zero productivity to full productivity in a relatively short time. Through career education, an unemployed (or underemployed) person could update existing skills or obtain a completely new set of job-entry knowledge and skills.

If the career guidance component of career education actually functions, a worker should know that job displacement is going to take place. Arrangements for job retraining can be made either during the regular part of the work day so that the wage earner does not experience major loss of income, or the retraining can take place after hours for the same reason. In any event, an individual has been able to anticipate loss of job and to prepare for a new job within the same or a different company with little or no loss of income or productivity. (See F, G, Fig. 1.)

As an individual progresses from kindergarten through various levels of school, his understandings and comprehension of the world of work should increase and his choice of job should reflect a developing knowledge of his relationship to the world of work.

At the present time, young people appear to be trapped by a continuous academic syndrome. Unless education is continuous from kindergarten through completion of the baccalaureate degree, society places a stigma on those who berak from the norm for whatever reason. Career education, with its easy access concept, can effectively break the *education must be continuous* point of view. Career counselors and personnel officers in industry must work as a team to assist the working individual in recognizing *when* job skills will need to be updated if full employment is to be maintained. The predicted loss of income and productivity under these circumstances is obviously minimal when compared with that of the individual who does nothing to anticipate and prepare for job displacement.

General Education, Special Education And Vocational Education

Those in charge of schools have grouped educational activities into two main groups, general education and special education. For purposes of this paper, *general education* is education required of all and is thought to be essential for providing each person the minimum knowledge and skills required to function in society. Hence, elementary schools are basically concerned with general education. *Special education*, on the other hand, is education elected by those who desire specific knowledge and skills. Certain elements of special education exist at all levels of educational enterprise. Pupils who elect music experience at the elementary level are involved in special education and students at the secondary level who elect vocational education are involved in special education.

Secondary school personnel who exclusively emphasize college preparation are doing

countless students grave injustices. In the past, and unfortunately too frequently in the present, school subjects have been taught as discrete entities with the hope and expectation that upon graduation individuals would be able to put everything together and live happily ever after. To a distressing degree, educators have been wrong. The Dictionary of Occupational Titles lists approximately 22,000 different jobs for which individuals must find some kind of entry level preparation.(3) Our present system of secondary education is geared to prepare about 85 percent of its constitutents for entrance into college. Yet only 12 to 15 percent of the available 22,000 jobs require a baccaulaureate degree. Little wonder that those who pay the bills for our public schools have become disenchanted with a system nearly 180 degrees out of phase with reality. The pattern of three, four and five or more occupational changes for workers by the age of 40-45 is eloquent testimony to how wrong schools have been.

In the early days of vocational education, its advocates said that vocational education could provide industry with skilled workers. Much to their chagrin and professional embarrasment, even the most devout supporter of vocational educational education found that this simply has not been true. Today, those who support vocational education say that it is the test of vocational education to provide industry with apt learners who possess job entry skills. Both teachers and industrialists seem far happier with this attainable posture than with the previously stated position which was not attainable. Part of job entry skills is knowledge of industrial relations and society. We do not expect an individual to assimilate science concepts without studying science; how then can we expect an individual to understand our industrial society without studying about that society?

Two of the outstanding contributions of industrial arts and industrial vocational education in general are:

1. development of planned individualized and small-group instruction,
2. individual and group-oriented projects wherein what a student learns is considered more important than what a student makes.

(Sadly, many industrial arts and industrial vocational educators have come to see projects as the end products.)

The Tasks Of Career Education

Career education should borrow freely all that is best in educational thought in order to accomplish its monumental tasks. The intelligent application of individual and small group activities obviously should be a part of the strategy for teaching-learning in career education.

U.S. Office of Education personnel have identified 15 major occupational clusters around which career education should revolve. These are:

- Business and Office
- Marketing and Distribution
- Communications and Media
- Construction
- Manufacturing
- Health
- Hospitality and Recreation
- Personal Services
- Fine Arts and Humanities
- Consumer and Homemaking
- Transportation
- Agri-Business and Matural Resources
- Marine Science
- Environmental Control
- Public Services

Career Education At The K–6 Level

Career education in grades K through six has career awareness as its primary function.

These curricula are designed to develop positive attitudes toward topics being studied. With career education in mind, the curricula are concerned with content dealing with the personal and social significance of work. Self-study and teacher directed study can begin with jobs with which the pupils are familiar, and then concepts can be expanded to include jobs with which learners are less familiar but which touch their lives. The study of these few jobs may then be expanded to include the 15 clusters of occupations identified by the USOE. From these, the 22,000 jobs included in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles could then be studied as a concept. As the pupils advance through elementary experiences from kindergarten through grade six, they should be developing increasing awareness of selves in relation to occupations and to potential careers. Pupils will be able to determine the life styles of people who work in various classifications of jobs within the job clusters. They will be able to understand *where* the various jobs are, and *how* the people who work at the jobs actually do those jobs.

Insofar as possible, the communities and the schools should not remain isolated one from each other. Schools were invented by men to accomplish social goals and objectives, but unfortunately the schools have gradually become isolated from their communities. Many of our problems stem from this fact. Today it is ironic, for instance, that millions of federal dollars are being expended to fund four demonstration centers which really have as their central purpose, the bringing together of schools and communities.

The career oriented elementary teacher will plan for audio-visual learning to augment books, field trips, etc. These should provide vicarious experiences when real danger, distance or other factors render on-site learning impractical. In terms of how people learn most effectively, research studies demonstrate what effective teachers and administrators have long known; the more you require of all of an individual's senses in the learning process, the more effective the learning. The sights, sounds, and odors associated with various experiences are indispensable ingredients of career education.

Career education materials in the social studies, mathematics, science, the language arts, industrial arts and the electives such as music should enable the pupil to develop wholesome and positive attitudes toward work and a knowledge of how important work is to individuals expanding industrial society.

Given a career education oriented elementary school, pupils will solve problems involving the manipulation of materials and tools, especially problems related to end products. They will use mathematics, social studies, science, communications, and interaction with others.

The objectives of career education at the elementary level expressed in student behavior, as indicated by Bottoms, will have students able to:

1. *identify occupations in the community;*
2. *develop identification with workers in various occupations;*
3. *apply basic educational, manipulative, and cognitive (skills in performing simulated work activities of a creative, organizational, and operative nature;*
4. *recognize work activities they like and perform best, that give them the greatest satisfaction; identify occupations in which the performance of similar acitivites would be required;*
5. *describe selected self-characteristics and environmental factors that can have impact upon an individual's future; identify ways in which others have minimized negative and maximized positive factors;*
6. *identify factors that influence the work environment and describe the nature of the influence;*
7. *learn to get along and work with peers;*
8. *complete tasks assigned;*
9. *develop respect for all levels of work.* (4)

Methods of Instruction

Career education at the elementary level does not call for methods of instruction dramatically different from methods already employed by effective instructors. Role playing, demonstrations, individual and small group instruction, field trips, text and written materials suitably supplemented for career education, flannel boards, signs, individual and group instruction concept-oriented activity projects, and interviews with individuals from business and industry will all be used by effective instructors. The formation by students of companies to produce small, easy-to-manufacture products permits pupils to learn how businesses operate and how people who perform different jobs interact to complete a predetermined task.

Career Guidance

Career education without career guidance would result in a hollow, empty caricature of what the promise of career education holds. Pupils should understand that a variety of jobs and occupations make up the world of work, and that different jobs require different interests and abilities for people to succeed. At the upper levels of the elementary school, pupils should be able to differentiate between jobs essentially materials-oriented, or information-data oriented, or jobs which are people oriented.

It should be recognized that the career guidance activities at all levels should result in a deeper awareness on the part of individuals concerning realistic job selection, understanding of personal assets and liabilities, the requirements of the labor market, especially supply and demand (including a realistic prediction of likely supply and demand), social value of various jobs, and the demands of job requirements, working conditions and the like.

Evaluation

At the elementary level, evaluation of career education should determine whether pupils have acquired knowledge of jobs and why people prefer some jobs over others. Career education should provide the opportunity for elementary pupils to engage in constructing multi-dimensional objects toward the end that materials and common hand tools are manipulated and problem solving is encouraged. The solutions to problems presented by elementary students can be representative of high order critical thinking. Obviously elementary teachers can at times be overwhelmed by the creative imagination of pupils. This can be especially true if teachers attempt to have all students arrive at preconceived solutions to career education problems.

Career Education At The Middle School Level

Career education in the junior high school (middle school level) has career exploration and experimentation as its primary function. In the middle school, career education should provide the inquisitive student with an educational smorgasbord. The 15 job clusters now become a banquet table from which all students participate. Traditional industrial arts for boys and traditional home economics for girls should not be confused with career education; although, they can be major parts.

The *Industrial Arts Curriculum Project,* a USOE funded research and development product, is an excellent example of a non-traditional approach to career education at the middle school level. This, hands on, concept-oriented system of instruction is transforming industrial arts at the middle school level. Exploration and orientation to *The World of Manufacturing* and *The World of Construction* are provided for in this departure from traditional industrial arts instruction. (5)

It seems obvious that similar innovative programs need to be established which provide

for a complete coverage of all 15 occupational clusters identified by the USOE. It is also clear that boys and girls alike must be enrolled in these exploratory courses. To limit career education to one sex or the other would be both unfair and unrealistic.

One of the most striking characteristics of a system of education noted for its inconsistencies is the sexual track which has channeled males in one direction and females in another. To pretend that females do not enter the labor market is absurd. Yet, especially at the junior high school (middle school) level, boys are generally shunted into something called industrial arts, and girls into home economics. Both these subjects, at this level, are taught for general education values. If, in fact, the courses do have general education value, then it follows that the experiences should be available for all, not selectively for some. In far too many instances, the courses are being taught in such a way that they neither serve the purpose of general education nor the purposes of career education.

The accepted emphasis on skills in communication, computation, and the like is not to be reduced. They will receive new emphasis in career education. In any event, students in the middle school have now matured to the point that learning activities and experiences can be related, in a very real sense, to student interests and abilities, and to the requirements of specific jobs and occupations. It is at this level of maturation that students can begin to plan purposefully for a goal at some extended time in the future. The in-school and non-school learning activities can be fused so that the larger goals of career exploration and experimentation are realized.

Middle school students who move from school to industry and to business will be observing the enterprises with far different eyes than when these facilities were visited earlier in the elementary grades. For at this stage, students have begun to be selective in the major occupational field. Because of prior study and comparison, they have been able selectively to reject a certain number of major occupational fields as being inappropriate to their interests and needs. Other occupational fields begin to assume high visibility in the developing awareness of careers. A major feature of career education in the middle school can be the small group instruction – much of it of a self-directed nature – from which students with similar interests and needs can profit.

It seems reasonable to conclude that unless students at the middle school have equal opportunity to explore and experiment with major occupational areas, their understandings of the industrial society will be inadequate, and they will approach the process of job selection from an imperfect base.

Methods of Instruction

Middle school students are fully capable of studying concepts without going through the cumbersome *total structure* of a system. In addition to standard methods of instruction, the middle school student will respond to directed, self-learning activities. In addition to individual and small-group problem solving techniques, the middle school teacher can profitably use a variety of the following methods of instruction: lecture, discussions, information assignments, experiments, field trips, films, video tape, reading, speakers, demonstrations, investigations, questions and conferences.

Career Guidance

If a single level of educational enterprise could be given another descriptive title – complete with appropriately stated goals – other than the one it already possesses, the middle school could assume the title and goals of career guidance, and the educational needs of the students would continue to be met. The junior high school and the middle school were created to provide students with the opportunities to personally explore a variety of topics to the end of greater understanding. Career guidance is

designed to provide students with the opportunity to develop insight into personal assets and liabilities in relation to the needs of the labor market.

In the middle school, the student will learn to assess his own assets and liabilities in light of jobs and the things jobs require. They will, as Bottoms indicated, *recognize work activities they like and perform best, that give them the greatest satisfaction; identify occupations in which the performance of similar activities would be required.*

Evaluation

Career education in the middle school does not attempt to develop in students entry level skills, hence any evaluation must show how well students learn about themselves and others in relation to the world of work. Program evaluation will hinge on the degree not only to which understandings and concepts are acquired but which experimentation and orientation have revealed.

Career Education at the Secondary Level

Administrative plans may dictate the kind of career education present in a secondary level school. In those places where community colleges exist secondary schools may be involved in developing pre-occupational knowledges and skills. In those localities having no community colleges, the early high school years may be devoted to pre-occupational skills and knowledge, and the later high school years devoted to developing job or entry-level skills.

Career education at the secondary level must involve the student in developing entry level skills in the job family for which he has developed an interest.

If institutional preparation is indicated, a comprehensive, area vocational school, staffed with experts in their fields, should be the goal of every school district. To a far greater degree, however, students and teacher should be participating in work-experiences, on-the-job training, and other techniques which would allow – even encourage – students to make significant contacts with jobs or occupations for which they have developed interests. Advisory committees can provide the liaison among career-oriented schools and the businesses and industries close to those schools.

School administrators and board members must encourage faculty members to move their students into organized teaching-learning situations outside the classrooms and laboratories. Unfortunately, teachers and administrators will, in many instances, oppose this kind of innovation as lacking substance and direction.

Curriculum

The curricula should be so arranged that students can, by careful selection of both course work and business and industrial contacts, (OJT, work experience, etc.), acquire entry level skills within the job families representative of their interest.

It seems reasonable to assume that certain school districts could develop outstanding career education centers of a comprehensive nature, and that other districts could develop similar centers, but with some differing programs. Agreements could then be worked out to permit students from one community to transfer among facilities without penalty or extra cost. In any case, regardless of administrative configuration, all career education programs should center on student learning and away from past concerns on student products. The curricula should be based upon the premise that what a student learns is more important than what a student makes.

Methods of Instruction

The methods of instruction to be used at the secondary school level will largely be

those of the middle school, however, to a far greater degree than at present, students should have the responsibility for learning placed directly on their shoulders.

Any system of career education neglecting a study about automated, mass production as it seeks to prepare people for careers in industry is not a very sound system. The problems of unions, management, finance, production, transportation, planning, communication and the like will have to be integrated into the curriculum.Constant student contact with industry and business will assure student awareness and concern for acquiring the most recent skill and knowledge from his instructor.

The use of individual, one-of-a-kind "projects" as a teaching device should be scrutinized quite carefully. Unless the project can be utilized as a group of learning experiences, its value as a teaching tool for purposes of career education is clearly in doubt.

Unless students are able to see that the knowledges and skills normally associated with mathematics, science, language arts and the like are those knowledges and skills required for success in their chosen careers, it is not likely that the concept of career education will be successful for those student.

Career Guidance

At this point in his development, the student is a product of multiple experiences. His awareness of self, in relation to the world of work, has been and is one of continuous development. His perceptions about what would be a good job for him have also been changing. The guidance function at this stage of career development may well be one of allowing students to arrive at realistic decisions which will affect job selection, preparation, entry and advancement.

Are students who drop out of school a problem of personnel in that school? Traditionally, these people seek employment, but because of their lack of job entry skills and the like, they are among the least desirable, in terms of new hires. In far too many instances, they ultimately do become the concern of welfare personnel. Career guidance, as a part of career education, neither implies that we can look the other way – nor heave a sigh of relef when one of our problem children drops out of organized school. If the full intent of career education is to be met, organized guidance services will need to be provided to those individuals who are no longer involved in organized full-time schooling. The organization and administration of specialists to accomplish these goals will require local, state and national cooperation. In many ways, the problems of dropouts will be more acute than those of their age group who remain in school. Alienated and frustrated by a system that originally failed them, these dropouts will in large measure need more expert assistance than others.

Career guidance specialists may have to look beyond the organized school to provide entry level skills for the secondary level dropout. On-the-job training, work-study programs, apprenticeship, or even components of these may have to be used to recycle these individuals into the mainstream of the work force.

Evaluation

Evaluation of career education at the secondary level must recognize the dual nature of the educational process. On the one hand, students are continuing to acquire a developing point of view about how our industrial society operates and, on the other hand, other students are acquiring entry level skills in order to participate in our society. Evaluation must necessarily indicate whether those students who remain in the educational mainstream for a time are acquiring concepts and insights about our industrial society. Students who have been acquiring entry level skills will need to demonstrate that they are in fact being hired in the field for which they received

preparation, and, when compared with those who have received this career preparation, they should not only transit to full-time employment easier and faster than others, but they should also advance on the job (promotion) well in advance of others.

Career Education at the Community College

Career education at the community college is obviously preparation for a more sophisticated, higher level of employment than was possible through secondary training. Long recognized as the most appropriate place for technical education, the community college not only retains that emphasis but also adds a new dimension to the career education continuum. That dimension is flexibility.

The curriculum of a community college generally permits students to complete the first two years of general education normally required for transfer to a state college or university. It allows them to acquire technical skills, or to complete courses in any subject matter in which they have interests. Career education at the community college should permit an individual to leave the world of work – in anticipation that his present job skills are rapidly becoming obsolete – and to acquire more desirable knowledge and skills to the end that termination of employment is neither imminent nor probable. Curriculum specialists at the community college will have to realize that potential unemployment does not respect college calendars and schedules. In short, community college personnel will need to acquire the point of view that their institutions are precisely what the name implies – parts of the communities.

Methods of Instruction

Methods of instruction at the community college level will not differ from those previously noted. Depending upon the materials to be taught, the wise instructor will carefully select the most appropriate technique or method to use in order to enhance the teaching-learning process. On-the-job training, work-study and other cooperative efforts should be encouraged.

Career Guidance

Like counselors at the senior high school level, collegiate guidance specialists need to be knowledgeable about the world of work. Through regular contact with industrial personnel, career counselors should be able to assist individuals to make appropriate career choices. The school dropout and the out-of-work adult should be able to determine, with the aid of the counselor, which occupations could most appropriately use individuals who possess their skills.

The person who is about to lose his job should be of particular interest to the community college counselor. To the extent that this individual is able to reduce the impact of his unemployment to an absolute minimum, counseling can be considered successful. Interagency and institutional personnel at all levels must become a working team to accomplish the larger goal of career education, namely, to have well educated individuals ultimately select, prepare for, enter under the best possible conditions, and make progress in, their jobs.

A New Dimension in Education

The new dimension in career education is now evident, a necessity to maintain interest in, and concern for all individuals throughout their working lifetimes. Career education may sound the death knell for compartmentalized instruction. The stylized use of terms such as *K through 6, English, seventh grade,* and *social studies* – under the influence of

career education – may become anachronistic.

Desired outcomes of educational enterprise are never expressed in terms of course titles, descriptive titles of institutions or school districts. Compartmentalized education has been predicated on providing the pupil with a broad foundation of general education and then, by some mysterious process, focusing on a short time period of specific instruction (the last two years of secondary school or the first two years of higher education), after which the individual is thrust at a world of work that is neither ready nor able to accept his obsolete knowledge and imperfect skills.

If by reason of chance and no little luck, an individual is employed, he may have to spend a considerable amount of time unlearning *facts* which are not so and forgetting skills which are obsolete. But as the years go by, the fluctuations of the economy and the advancement of science and technology will render even the well-prepared and diligent worker unemployed. The Department of Labor reports that the people who are released first from employment during cutbacks are the young, minority individuals who possess few, if any, characteristics employers desire. Such individuals become confused and bewildered – caught up in an unemployment trap not of their own making or choosing.

Personnel in community colleges must turn their full attention to those individuals who desire employment but who, for whatever reason, are not in an earning capacity. For the first time, the concept of career education permits, even mandates, that individuals who have lost their jobs and individuals who seek employment should be granted every opportunity to become employable. It is obvious that educational enterprise and community-political entities will have to adapt to the people who work and those who want to work in our industrial society.

The individual who worked 15 years for the Flatwheel Express Company and who then becomes unemployed may be listed as *difficult to place* by employment agencies, unless and until educational and community resources are brought together in a system which assists the individual to reassess his assets and liabilities in terms of the needs of the labor market.

Summary

Inevitably, career education will continue to be compared with, and even equated with, vocational education. Career education begins long before, and continues long after, vocational education. The concept of career education may force vocational education to do what it was supposed to be doing all these years – provide certain individuals with job entry level skills.

Career education will finally permit every person to acquire knowledge, understanding and insight into how our industrial society functions. In turn, individuals will also acquire an appreciation for, and an understanding of, the value of all others who work. this attitudinal appreciation may be as important as the ability of individuals to anticipate unemployment and to seek assistance for new preparation before the unemployment becomes a disabling factor.

In the elementary school, pupils should become aware of the general structure of careers. As they approach the end of the elementary cycle, the knowledge possessed about a major area, such as manufacturing, will be brought into general focus. In the middle school years, individual and small group instruction can not only focus on manufacturing, but also on a single part of that complex, metal fabrication. In the senior high school, this can be refined still further to a trade such as machinist. And so on, through the community college, the university, and on the job. Machinist can give way to milling machine specialist, and on the job, this in turn can be replaced by vertical mill operator.

Before career education can become a reality in many communities, teacher education institutions will have to include career education concepts in their pre-service program of studies. Plans to bring the career education concept to in-service teachers will have to be implemented.

It seems obvious that much of what needs to be done in career education can be accomplished, at least in part, by institutions or agencies that exist in some form or another at the present time. The only exception that presents itself is the adult worker.

Adult workers–40, 45 or even 50 years of age–may see existing community colleges and universities as monolithic institutions whose entrance requirements are such that to attempt to secure help from them would seem to be a hopeless task. In far too many instances, their analysis is entirely correct. Adults who would like to attend a class at a community college or university to acquire new job skills and knowledge are faced with entrance requirements, complex forms, and antipathies toward non-degree bound persons. If the concept of career education for everyone is to be realized, college and university personnel will have to modify existing patterns of admission. Also to be modified will be the attitude that the insitutions exist only to turn out degree-winning personnel.

This monograph has dealt broadly with the concept of career education. Specialists at district and state levels will need to assure that local programs meet and exceed the essential elements of career education.

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EPILOGUE

Present Parameters Of Career Education

On 2 February 72, a brief form designed to yield data in several major areas was mailed to the chief state school officer (or the person known to be in charge of career education) in each of the fifty states, and the District of Columbia. As of 10 Mar '72, 42 or 82.3 percent of the forms had been returned. Insofar as the information reported in these forms applies to the United States as a whole, the attitudes, opinions and data may be representative of present parameters of career education in the United States.

Of the 42 states reporting, 18, or 42.8 percent indicated that one person was responsible for developing career education; nine, or 21.4 percent noted that a task force or committee had this responsibility; and 15, or 35.7 percent indicated that no one person had this developmental task.

That career education has yet to come of age is evident from responses which reveal that 18, or 42.8 percent of those responding had other duties to perform in addition to developing career education. Nine, or 21.4 percent of those responding indicated that they did not have additional duties; and 15, or 35.7 percent – as indicated in the previous paragraph – did not yet have someone designated as responsible for developing career education.

As shown in Table I, most respondents believed that career education applies to what is universally accepted as public education,

TABLE 1

EDUCATION LEVELS TO WHICH CAREER EDUCATION APPLIES

Level	Number	Percent
K-6	41	97.8
7-8-9	42	100.0
10-11-12	42	100.0
Community College	31	74.0
College/University	20	47.6
Individuals who work (including the unemployed) up to and including retirement	26	62.0

grades K through 12. To a lesser extent, respondents believed that career education also applied to community college students, individuals who are in the work force, and finally, to college/university students.

TABLE 2

NECESSITY FOR CAREER GUIDANCE AS A PART OF CAREER EDUCATION

Degree of Need	Number	Percent
a. Absolutely necessary at all levels	35	83.2
b. Necessary at most levels	6	14.2
c. Necessary at some levels	0	10.0
d. Necessary at one or two levels only	0	0.0
e. Not a necessary component	1	2.4

TABLE 3

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES TO BE EMPLOYED IN APPRISING TEACHERS ABOUT CAREER EDUCATION CONCEPTS

Method/Technique		Number	Percent
a. Specially designed college/university seminars, workshops and extension classes		39	93
b. District-wide teachers' meetings		33	78.6
c. Bulletins, AV materials		28	66.7
d. Miscellaneous:		24	57.1
1. State department conferences/workshops	8		
2. In-service days, seminars	6		
3. Guidance specialists to be used as resources persons	4		
4. Single school teachers' meetings and conferences	1		
5. Dissemination of materials from funded career education projects	1		
6. Use of one of the national school sites as a model	1		
7. Rewrite teacher education guidelines	1		
8. Annual meetings of professional groups	1		
9. Demonstration programs	1		

Respondents generally agreed that career guidance was essential to career education. As revealed in Table II, 35 or 82.2 percent indicated that career guidance was absolutely essential at all levels.

In a remarkable show of unanimity, all 42 respondents agreed that the concept of career education was far broader and more comprehensive than vocational education. No one saw career education equated with vocational education, and no one way career education as more restrictive than vocational education.

Table III indicates that a wide variety of methods and techniques will be employed to apprise teachers about career education and to implement the concepts of career education in the classroom. Respondents will lean heavily on specially designed college seminars, workshops and extension classes, district-wide teachers' meetings, bulletins, and audio-visual materials.

Respondents were asked to indicate the extent of career education in their state at the present time. As shown in Table IV, a few states have extensive career education programs in operation.

Conversely, most respondents indicated that very few pilot programs in career education were available in their states. Data contained in Table IV verifies previous information, namely, that the respondents see career education more appropriately at the K through 12 levels than in other levels.

As indicated in Table IV, the largest categories reported are "Pilot Programs, very few," and "Operational Programs, very few." At the K–6 level these include 40, or 80.0 percent of the 50 total; at the 7–8–9 level, 38, or 74.5 percent of the 51 total; at the 10–11–12 level, 27, or 55.0 percent of the 49 total; at the community college level, 11 or 52.4 percent of the 21 total; at the college/university level, 9 or 75.0 percent of the 12 total; and at the adult level, these include 12, or 57.1 percent of the 21 total.

The relative dearth of "Operational Programs, generally available," as shown in Table IV,e., is an indication of the development task faced by those charged with this responsibility in the several states.

Most states have an individual or a group of people responsible for developing career education in their state. These people tend to have additional responsibilities. Those charged with developing career education generally believe that career education does apply to all age groups, but to a great extent, more appropriately to grades K through 12. Programs in operation in the several states tend to bear out these beliefs.

Career guidance is viewed as essential to career education. All respondents agree that career education is broader and more comprehensive than vocational education. A wide variety of methods and techniques are, and will be, used to introduce career education concepts to the classroom teacher. At all school levels, most respondents indicated that very few career education pilot programs are available in their states.

It seems reasonable to assume that career education has received a powerful stimulus in the several states. Those charged with developing such programs should be released from other duties in order to concentrate on career education. Careful attention should be given to career education at all levels of educational enterprise, not just K through 12.

Finally and fortunately the concept of career education appears to be well established in the several states. Results of pilot programs and the like will need to be widely distributed so that successes can be duplicated and failures avoided.

TABLE 4

PRESENT STATUS OF CAREER EDUCATION

Kind, and extent of Programs	K-6		7-8-9		10-11-12		Community College		College/ University		Adult		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
a. Pilot programs, very few	31	73.8	28	66.6	22	52.3	9	21.4	5	11.9	6	14.3	101
b. Pilot programs, generally available	6	14.3	8	19.0	5	11.9	1	2.3	----------		1	2.3	21
c. Pilot programs extensive	1	2.3	1	2.3	2	4.7	----------		----------		----------		4
d. Operational programs, very few	9	21.4	10	23.7	5	11.9	2	4.7	4	9.5	6	14.3	36
e. Operational programs, generally available	2	4.7	4	9.5	11	26.4	7	16.6	3	7.1	7	16.6	34
f. Operational programs, extensive	1	2.3	----------		4	9.5	2	4.7	----------		1	2.3	8
Totals	50		51		49		21		12		21		204

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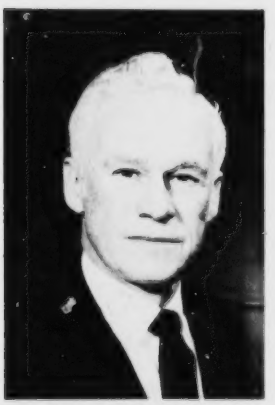

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